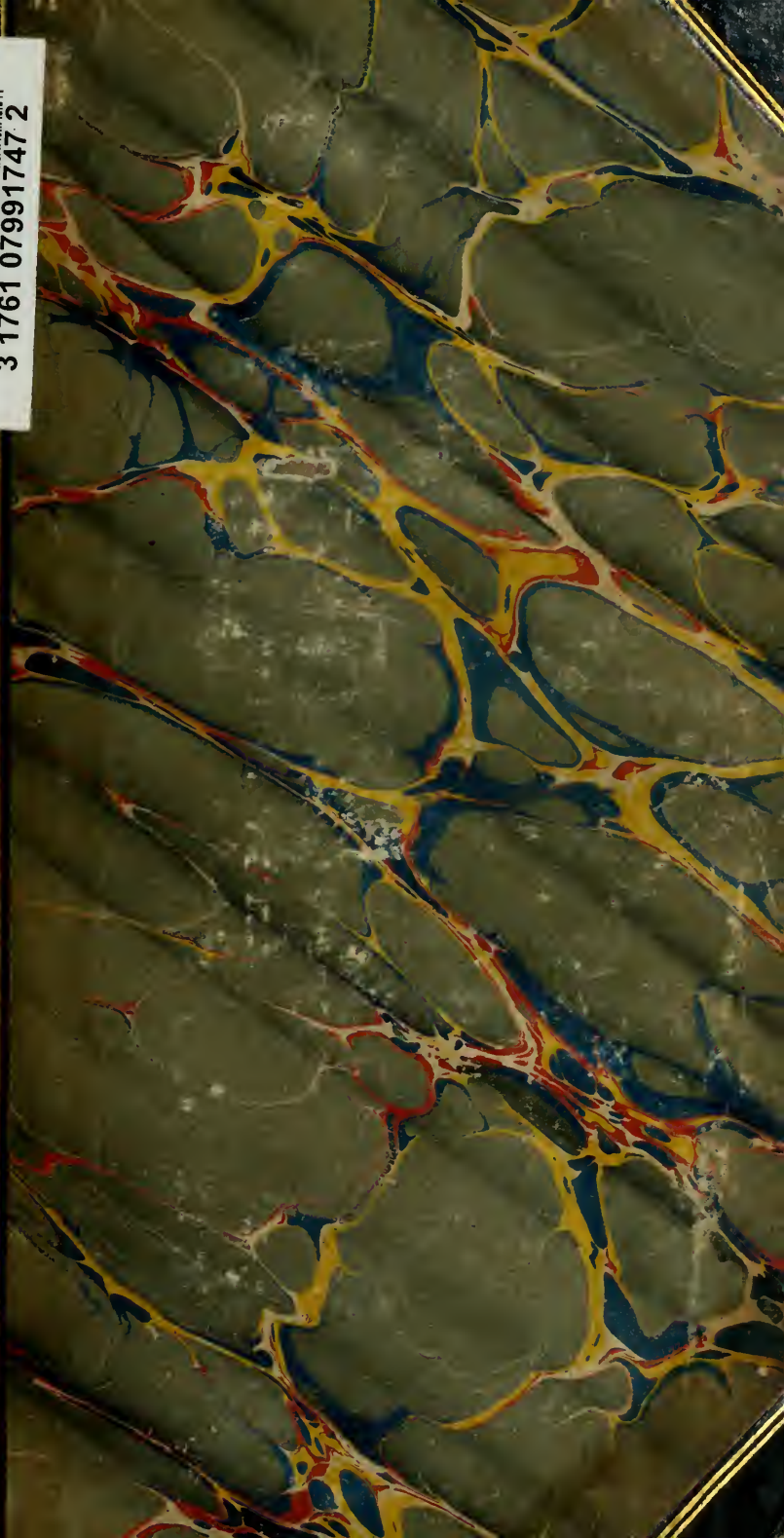
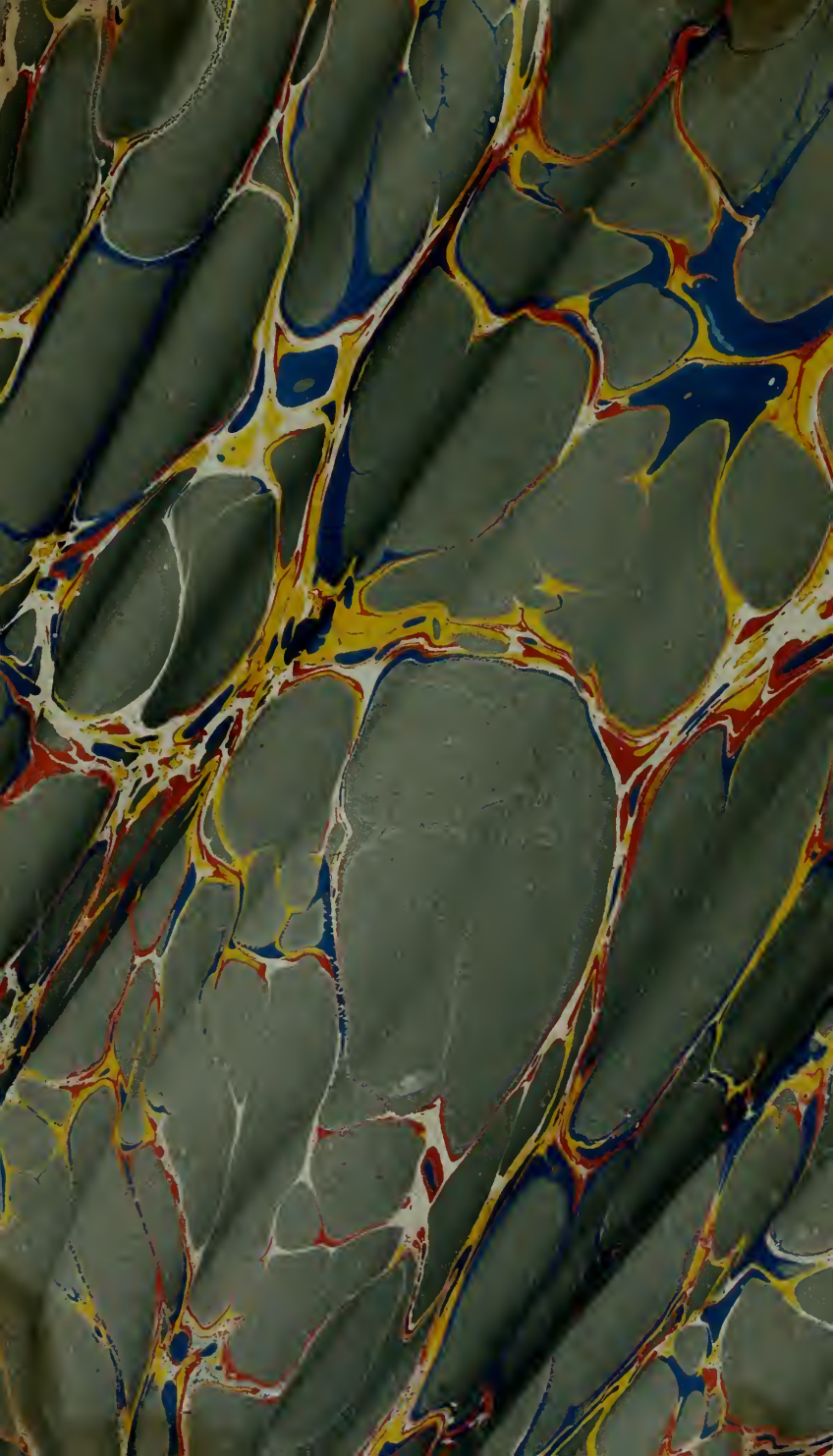
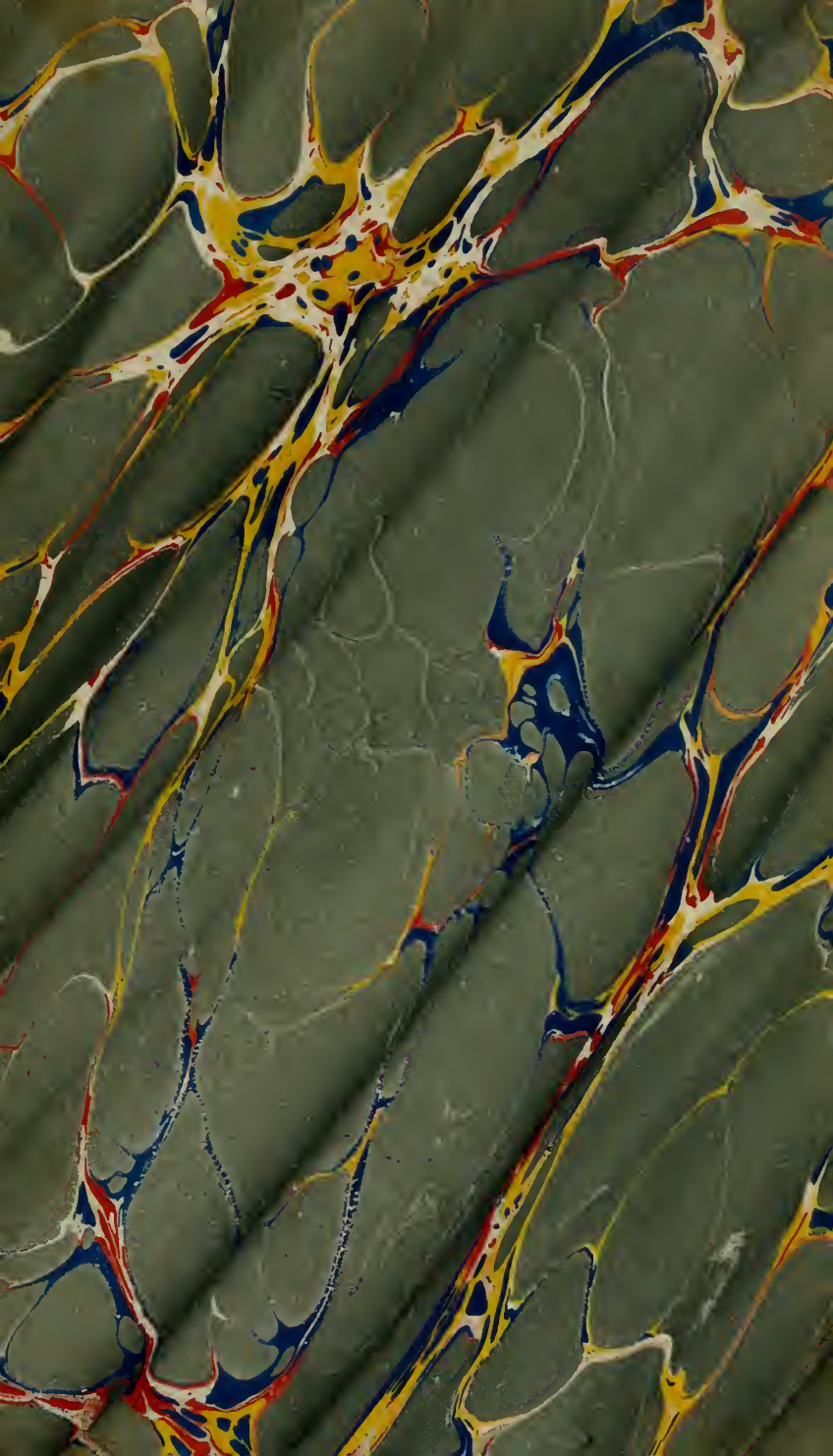


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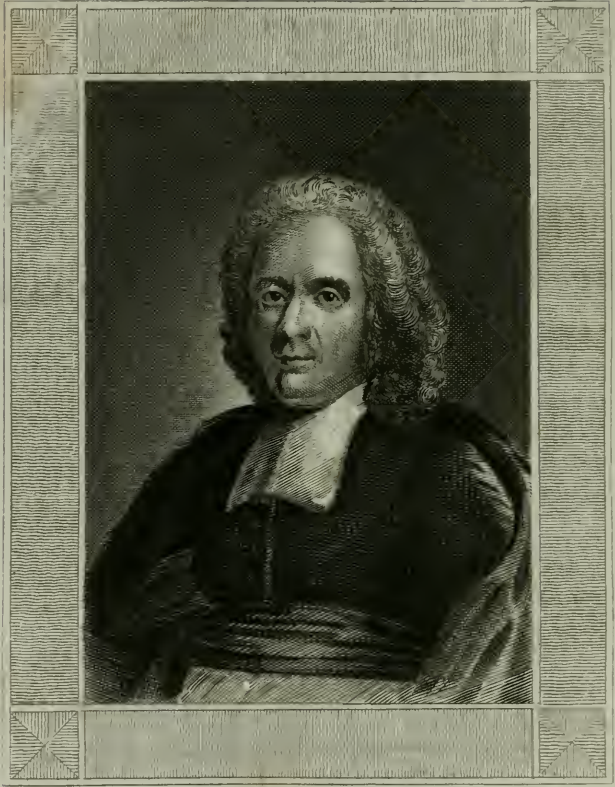


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ROLLIN.

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THE  
**ANCIENT HISTORY**

OF THE

**EGYPTIANS,**  
**CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS,**  
**BABYLONIANS,**  
**MEDES AND PERSIANS, GRECIANS**

AND

**MACEDONIANS,**

---

**BY M. ROLLIN,**

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ELOQUENCE IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE, AND MEMBER OF THE  
ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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# PREFACE.

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## THE USEFULNESS OF PROFANE HISTORY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO RELIGION.

THE study of profane history would little deserve to have a serious attention, and a considerable length of time bestowed upon it, if it were confined to the bare knowledge of ancient transactions, and an uninteresting enquiry into the æras when each of them happened. It little concerns us to know, that there were once such men as Alexander, Cæsar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Assyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Persians, who were themselves subjected by the Macedonians, as these were afterwards by the Romans.

But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods those empires were founded; by what steps they rose to that exalted pitch of grandeur which we so much admire; what it was that constituted their true glory and felicity; and what were the causes of their declension and fall.

It is of no less importance to study attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and customs; and especially to acquaint ourselves with the character and disposition, the talents, virtues, and even vices of those by whom they were governed; and whose good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the states over which they presided.

Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; causing to pass, as it were, in review, before us, all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and at the same time, all the great men who were any ways conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

We acquire, at the same time, another knowledge, which cannot but excite the attention of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning; I mean the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated, and improved. We there discover, and trace as it were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive, with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; whereas they seem to be either neglected or forgotten, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a transient view of these objects, though so very important, in this place, because I have already treated them at some length elsewhere.

But another object of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the absurdities of a superstitious worship: and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and above all, the admirable wisdom with which his providence governs the universe.

If the inherent conviction of this last truth raised, according to Cicero's observation, the Romans above all other nations; we may, in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives history a greater superiority to many other branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted, in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God disposes all events as supreme Lord and Sovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires; and that he trans-

fers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another because of the unrighteous dealings and wickedness committed therein.

We discover this important truth in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of profane history; I mean, to the dispersion of the posterity of Noah into the several countries of the earth where they settled. Liberty, chance, views of interest, a love for certain countries, and similar motives, were, in outward appearance, the only causes of the different choice which men made in these various migrations. But the Scriptures inform us, that amidst the trouble and confusion that followed the sudden change in the language of Noah's descendants, God presided invisibly over all their counsels and deliberations; that nothing was transacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he alone guided and settled all mankind, agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and justice: 'The Lord scattered them abroad' from thence 'upon the face of earth'\*

It is true indeed that God, even in those early ages, had a peculiar regard for that people, whom he was one day to consider as his own. He pointed out the country which he designed for them; he caused it to be possessed by another laborious nation, who applied themselves to cultivate and adorn it; and to improve the future inheritance of the Israelites. He then fixed, in that country, the like number of families as were to be settled in it, when the sons of Israel should, at the appointed time, take possession of it; and did not suffer any of the nations, which were not subject to the curse pronounced by Noah against Canaan, to enter upon an inheritance that was to be given up entirely to the Israelites. '*Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes, quando separabat filios Adam, constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel.*'† But this peculiar regard of God to his future people, does not interfere with that which he had for the rest of the nations of the earth, as is evident from the many passages of Scripture, which teach us, that the entire succession of ages is present to him; that nothing is transacted in the whole universe, but by his appointment; and that he directs the several events of it from age to age. '*Tu es Deus conspexor seculorum. A seculo usque in seculum respicis.*'

We must therefore consider, as an indisputable principle and as the basis and foundation of the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts; as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the Church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight; '*Notum a seculo est Domino opus suum.*'‡

God has vouchsafed to discover to us, in holy Scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition: they reveal the true causes and hidden springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us, what indeed is the principal benefit to be derived from history, the judgment which the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently what idea we ourselves ought to entertain of them.

Not to mention Egypt, that served at first as the cradle (if I may be allowed the expression) of the holy nation; and which afterwards was a

\* Gen. xi. 8, 9.

† 'When the Most High divided the nations, and separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel' (whom he had in view). This is one of the interpretations (which appears very natural) that is given to this passage. Deut. xxxii. 6.

‡ Acts, xv. 18.



severe prison, and a fiery furnace to it; and, at last, the scene of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favour of Israel: not to mention, I say Egypt, the mighty empires of Nineveh and Babylon furnish a thousand proofs of the truth here advanced.

Their most powerful monarchs, Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanasar, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many more, were, in God's hand, as so many instruments, which he employed to punish the transgressions of his people. 'He lifted up an ensign to the nations from far, and hissed unto them from the end of the earth, to come and receive his orders.\* He himself put the sword into their hands and appointed their marches daily. He breathed courage and ardour into their soldiers; made their armies indefatigable in labour, and invincible in battle; and spread terror and consternation wherever they directed their steps.

The rapidity of their conquests ought to have enabled them to discern the invisible hand which conducted them. But, says one of these kings† in the name of the rest, 'By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: And I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people: and has one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped.‡

But this monarch, so august and wise in his own eye, how did he appear in that of the Almighty? Only as a subaltern agent, a servant sent by his master: 'The rod of his anger, and the staff in his hand.§ God's design was to chastise, not to extirpate, his children. But Sennacherib 'had it in his heart to destroy and cut off all nations.|| What then will be the issue of this kind of contest between the designs of God, and those of this prince?¶ At the time that he fancied himself already possessed of Jerusalem, the Lord, with a single blast, disperses all his proud hopes; destroys, in one night, an hundred fourscore and five thousand of his forces: and putting 'a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his lips (as though he had been a wild beast), he leads him back to his dominions, covered with infamy, through the midst of those nations, who, but a little before, had beheld him in all his pride and haughtiness.

Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, appears still more visibly governed by a Providence, to which he himself is an entire stranger, but which presides over all his deliberations, and determines all his actions.

Being come at the head of his army to two highways, the one of which led to Jerusalem, and the other to Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites, this king, not knowing which of them it would be best for him to strike into, debates for some time with himself, and at last casts lots. God makes the lot fall on Jerusalem, to fulfill the menaces he had pronounced against that city, viz. to destroy it, to burn the temple, and lead its inhabitants into captivity.

One would imagine, at first sight, that this king had been prompted to besiege Tyre, merely from a political view, viz. that he might not leave behind him so powerful and well-fortified a city; nevertheless, a superior will had decreed the siege of Tyre. God designed, on one side, to humble the pride of Ithobal its king, who fancying himself wiser than Daniel, whose fame was spread over the whole East; and ascribing entirely to his rare and uncommon prudence the extent of his dominions, and the greatness of his riches, persuaded himself that he was 'a god, and sat in the seat of God.' On the other side, he also designed to chastise the luxury, the voluptuousness, and the pride of those haughty merchants, who thought themselves kings of the sea, and sovereigns over crowned heads; and especially, that inhuman joy of the Tyrians, who looked upon the fall of Jerusalem (the rival of Tyre) as their own aggrandisement. These were the motives which prompted God himself to lead Nebuchadnezzar to Tyre; and to make him execute, though unknowingly, his commands. *INCIRCO ecce EGO ADDUCAM ad Tyrum Nabuchodonosor.*

\* Isai. v. 26, 30. x. 28, 34. xiii. 4, 5.

† Sennacherib.

‡ Isai. x. 13, 14.

§ Ibid. x. 5.

|| Ibid. v. 7.

¶ Ibid. ver. 12.

To recompense this monarch, whose army the Almighty had caused 'to serve a great service against Tyre'\* (these are God's own words); and to compensate the Babylonish troops, for the grievous toils they had sustained during a thirteen years' siege; 'I will give,' saith the Lord God, 'the land of Egypt, unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.'†

The same Nebuchadnezzar, eager to immortalize his name by the grandeur of his exploits, was determined to heighten the glory of his conquests by his splendour and magnificence, in embellishing the capital of his empire with pompous edifices, and the most sumptuous ornaments. But whilst a set of adulating courtiers, on whom he lavished the highest honours and immense riches, make all places resound with his name, an august senate of watchful spirits is formed, who weigh, in the balance of truth, the actions of kings, and pronounce upon them a sentence from which there lies no appeal. The king of Babylon is cited before this tribunal, in which there presides the Supreme Judge, who, to a vigilance which nothing can elude, adds a holiness that will not allow of the least irregularity. *Vigil et sanctus.* In this tribunal all Nebuchadnezzar's actions, which were the admiration and wonder of the public, are examined with rigour; and a search is made into the inward recesses of his heart, to discover his most hidden thoughts. How will this formidable enquiry end? At the instant that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in his palace, and revolving, with a secret complacency, his exploits, his grandeur and magnificence, is saying to himself, 'Is not this great Babylon that I built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?'‡ In this very instant, when, by vainly flattering himself that he held his power and kingdom from himself alone, he usurped the seat of the Almighty; a voice from heaven pronounces his sentence, and declares to him that 'his kingdom was departed from him, that he should be driven from men, and his dwelling be with the beasts of the field, until he knew that the Most High ruled in the kingdoms of men, and gave them to whomsoever he would.'§

This tribunal, which is for ever assembled, though invisible to mortal eyes, pronounced the like sentence on those famous conquerors, on those heroes of the pagan world, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, consider themselves as the sole authors of their exalted fortune; as independent on authority of every kind, and as not holding of a superior power.

As God appointed some princes to be the instruments of his vengeance, he made others the dispensers of his goodness. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and, to enable him to support with dignity so glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which constitute the greatest captains and princes: and caused that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens so much admired, though they neither knew the author nor true cause of it.

We see in profane history the extent and swiftness of his conquest, the intrepidity of his courage, the wisdom of his views and designs; his greatness of soul, his noble generosity; his truly paternal affection for his subjects; and, on their part, the grateful returns of love and tenderness, which made them consider him rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and sovereign. We find, I say, all these particulars in profane history; but we do not perceive the secret principle of so many exalted qualities, nor the hidden spring which set them in motion.

But Isaiah discloses them, and delivers himself in words suitable to the greatness and majesty of the God who inspired him. He represents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; 'subduing nations before him, loosening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of brass, cutting in sunder the bars of iron,' throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in possession 'of the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places.'||

\* Ezek. xxix. 18, 20.

† Dan. iv. 1—34.

‡ Ibid. 30.

§ Dan. iv. 31, 32.

|| Isa. xlv. 1—3.

The prophet also tells us the cause and motive of all these wonderful events. It was in order to punish Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, step by step, and gives success to all his enterprises. 'I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways. —For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect.\*' But this prince is so blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his master, nor remember his benefactor. 'I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.†

Men seldom form to themselves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties essential to regal power. The Scripture alone gives us a just idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner, under the image of a very large and strong tree, whose top reaches to heaven, and whose branches extend to the extremities of the earth. As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it constitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It supplies a grateful shade, and a secure retreat to beasts of every kind: animals, both wild and tame, are safely lodged beneath it, the birds of heaven dwell in its branches, and it supplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more just or more instructive idea of the kingly office, whose true grandeur and solid glory does not consist in that splendour, pomp, and magnificence which surround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by subjects and which are justly due to it; but in the real services and solid advantages it procures to nations, whose support, defence, security, and asylum it forms (both from its nature and institution), at the same time that it is the fruitful source of blessings of every kind; especially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the shade and protection of royalty, a sweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or disturbed; whilst the monarch himself sacrifices his ease, and experiences alone those storms and tempests from which he shelters all others?

I think that I observe this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted) realized in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the history of that prince. He has there specified a great number of nations, which, though separated from each other by vast tracts of country, and still more widely by the diversity of their manners, customs, and language, were however, all united, by the same sentiments of esteem, reverence, and love for a prince, whose government they wished, if possible, to have continued for ever, so much happiness and tranquillity did they enjoy under it.

To this amiable and salutary government, let us oppose the idea which the sacred writings give us of those monarchs and conquerors so much boasted by antiquity, who, instead of making the happiness of mankind the sole object of their care, were prompted by no other motives than those of interest and ambition. The Holy Spirit represents them‡ under the symbols of monsters generated from the agitation of the sea, from the tumult, confusion, and dashing of the waves one against the other; and under the image of cruel wild beasts, which spread terror and desolation universally, and are for ever gorging themselves with blood and slaughter; bears, lions, tigers, and leopards. How strong and expressive is this colouring!

Nevertheless, it is often from such destructive models, that the rules and maxims of the education generally bestowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is these ravagers of nations, these scourges of mankind, they propose to make them resemble. By inspiring them with the sentiments of a boundless ambition, and the love of false glory, they become (to borrow an expression from Scripture) 'young lions; they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to lay waste cities, to turn lands and their fatness into desolation by the noise of their roaring.§ And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noise of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and desolation.

\* Isa. xlv. 13, 4.

† Chap. xlv. 4, 5.

‡ Dan. vii.

§ Ezek. xix. 3, 7.



The examples I have hitherto mentioned, extracted from the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, prove sufficiently the supreme power exercised by God over all empires; and the relation he has thought fit to establish between the rest of the nations of the earth and his own peculiar people. The same truth appears as conspicuously under the kings of Syria and Egypt, successors of Alexander the Great; between whose history, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the close connection.

To these incidents I cannot forbear adding another, which, though universally known, is not therefore the less remarkable; I mean the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Israel; and, in a rapture of admiration, cried out, 'It is manifest that the Almighty has fought for us, and has driven the Jews from those towers; since neither the utmost human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could have effected it.'

Besides the visible and sensible connection of sacred and profane history, there is another more secret and more distinct relation with respect to the Messiah, for whose coming the Almighty, whose work was ever present to his sight, prepared mankind from afar, even by the state of ignorance and dissoluteness in which he suffered them to be immersed during four thousand years. It was to make mankind sensible of the necessity of our having a Mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways: while neither the light of reason, nor the dictates of philosophy, could dispel the clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majesty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil societies, and the harmony of the different members of which they are composed, the wisdom of legislators, and the learning of philosophers, the earth seems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and resplendent; nevertheless, in the eye of God it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the first instant of the creation. 'The earth was WITHOUT FORM AND VOID.\*' This is saying but little; it was wholly polluted and impure (the reader will observe that I speak here of the heathens), and appeared to God only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. 'The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with iniquity.†'

Nevertheless the Sovereign Arbiter of the universe, who, pursuant to the dictates of his wisdom, dispenses both light and darkness, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human passions, would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmost corruptions, to degenerate into absolute barbarity, and brutalize themselves, in a manner, by the extinction of the first principles of the law of nature, as is seen in several savage nations. Such an obstacle would have too much retarded the rapid progress, promised by him to the first preachers of the doctrine of his Son.

He darted from far, into the minds of men, the rays of several great truths, to dispose them for the reception of others more important. He prepared them for the instructions of the Gospel, by those of philosophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen professors to examine, in their schools, several questions, and establish several principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the brilliancy of their disputations. It is well known, that the philosophers inculcate in every part of their writings, the existence of a God, the necessity of a Providence that presides over the government of the world, the immortality of the soul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and punishment of the wicked, the nature of those duties which constitute the band of society, the character of the virtues that are the basis of morality, as prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and other similar truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteousness, were yet of use to scatter certain clouds, and to dispel certain obscurities.

\* Gen. i. 2.

† Chap. vi. 11.

It is by an effect of the same providence, which prepared, from far, the ways of the Gospel, that, when the Messiah revealed himself in the flesh, God had united together almost all nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had subjected to one monarch, from the ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free course to the preaching of the apostles. The study of profane history, when entered upon with judgment and maturity, must lead us to these reflections, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth subservient to the establishment of the kingdom of his Son.

It ought likewise to teach us how to appreciate all that glitters most in the eye of the world, and is most capable of dazzling it. Valour, fortitude, skill in government, profound policy, merit in magistracy, capacity for the most abstruse sciences, beauty of genius, delicacy of taste, and perfection in all arts: these are the objects which profane history exhibits to us, which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the same time this very history ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever since the creation, has indulged to his enemies all those shining qualities which the world esteems, and on which it frequently bestows the highest eulogiums; while, on the contrary, he often refuses them to his most faithful servants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely superior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are desirous of them. "Happy is that people that is in such a case: Yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord."\*

I shall conclude this first part of my preface with a reflection which results naturally from what has been said. Since it is certain, that all these great men, who are so much boasted of in profane history, were so unhappy as not to know the true God, and to displease him; we should therefore be cautious and circumspect in the praises which we bestow upon them. St. Austin, in his *Retractions*, repents his having lavished so many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philosophy; because these, says he, were impious men, whose doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jesus Christ.

However, we are not to imagine that St. Austin supposes it to be unlawful for us to admire and praise whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the mixims, of the heathens. He only advises us to correct whatever is erroneous, and to approve whatever is conformable to rectitude and justice in them. He applauds the Romans on many occasions, and particularly in his books "*De Civitate Dei*," which is one of the last and finest of his works. He there shows, that the Almighty raised them to be victorious over nations, and sovereigns of a great part of the earth, because of the gentleness and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the republic) thus bestowing on virtues, that were merely human, rewards of the same kind, with which that people, blind on this subject, though so enlightened on others, were so unhappy as to content themselves. St. Austin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are bestowed on the heathens, but only the excess of them.

Students ought to take care, and especially we, who by the duties of our profession are obliged to be perpetually conversant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the spirit of them; not to imbibe, unperceived, their sentiments, by lavishing too great applauses on their heroes; nor to give into excesses which the heathens indeed did not consider as such, because they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some persons, whose friendship I esteem as I ought, and for whose learning and judgment I have the highest regard, have found this defect in some parts of my work, on the '*Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres*,' &c.; and are of opinion, that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums which I bestow on the illustrious men of paganism. I indeed own, that the expressions on those occasions are sometimes too strong and too unguarded: however, I imagined that I had supplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints which I have interspersed in those four volumes; and, therefore, that it would be only losing time to repeat them: not to mention my having laid down, in different places, the principles which the fathers of the Church

\* *Psal.* cxliv. 15.

establish on this head, declaring with St. Austin, that without true piety, that is, without a sincere worship of the true God, there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be such, whose object is wordly glory; a truth, says this Father, acknowledged universally by those who are inspired with real and solid piety. '*Illud constat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est, veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem; nec eam veram esse, quando gloriæ servit humanæ.*'

When I observed that Persens had not resolution enough to kill himself, I do not thereby pretend to justify the practise of the heathens, who looked upon suicide as lawful; but simply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius passed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two against that custom, it would have obviated all mistake, and left no room for censure.

The ostracism, employed in Athens against persons of the greatest merit; theft connived at, as it appears, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality of good established in the same city, by the authority of the state, and things of a like nature, may admit of some difficulty. However, I shall pay a more immediate attention to these particulars, when the course of the history brings me to them; and shall avail myself with pleasure of such lights as the learned and unprejudiced may favour me by communicating.

In a work like that I now offer the public, intended more immediately for the instruction of youth, it were heartily to be wished, that not one single thought or expression might occur, that could contribute to inculcate false or dangerous principles. When I first set about writing the present history, I proposed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always observed it, though it was my intention to do so; and therefore on this, as on many other occasions, I shall stand in need of the reader's indulgence.

As I write principally for young persons, and for those who do not intend to make very deep researches into ancient history, I shall not burthen this work with a sort of erudition, that might have been naturally introduced into it, but does not suit my purpose. My design is, in giving a continued series of ancient history, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I shall judge most useful and entertaining with respect to the transactions, and most instructive with regard to the reflections.

I should wish to be able to avoid, at the same time, the dry sterility of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that it is difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes; and although, in the two parts of history of which this first volume consists, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may still be thought too long; but I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However, the taste of the public shall be my guide, to which I shall endeavour to conform hereafter.

I was so happy as not to displease the public in my first attempt. I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I there treated, viz. polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious and detached pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it from ancient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful, affecting, delicate, and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were presented to him; and besides, the variety of the subjects supplied the want of those graces which might have been expected from the style and composition.

But I have not the same advantage in the present work, the choice of the subjects not being entirely at my discretion. In a connected history, an author is often obliged to relate a great many things that are not always very interesting, especially with regard to the origin and rise of empires; and these parts are generally overrun with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the sequel will furnish matter of a more pleasing nature, and events that engage more strongly the reader's attention; and I shall take care to make use of the valuable materials which the best authors will supply. In the mean time I must entreat the reader to remember that in a



wide extended and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harvests, smiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but sees, at different intervals, wild and less cultivated tracts of land. And, to use another comparison, furnished by Pliny, some trees in the spring, emulously shoot forth a numberless multitude of blossoms, which by this rich dress (the splendor and vivacity of whose colours charm the eye) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced season; while other trees\* of a less gay appearance, though they bear good fruits, have not however the fragrance and beauty of blossoms, nor seem to share in the joy of reviving nature. The reader will easily apply this image to the composition of history.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be so ingenuous as to confess, that I do not scruple, nor am ashamed, to reffe from all quarters, and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I transcribe, because of the liberty I occasionally take to make some slight alterations. I have made the best use in my power of the solid reflections that occur in the second and third parts of the Bishop of Meaux's 'Universal History,' which is one of the most beautiful and most useful books in our language. I have also received great assistance from the learned Dean Prideaux's 'Connection of the Old and New Testament,' in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient history. I shall take the same liberty with whatever comes in my way, that may suit my design, and contribute to the perfection of my work.

I am very sensible, that it is not so much for a person's reputation, thus to make use of other men's labours, and that is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over fond of that title; and shall be extremely well pleased, and think myself very happy, if I can but deserve the name of a good compiler, and supply my readers with a tolerable history; who will not be over solicitous to enquire whether it be an original composition of my own or not, provided they are but pleased with it.

I cannot determine the exact number of volumes which this work will make, but am persuaded there will be no less than ten or twelve.† Students, with a very moderate application, may easily go through this course of history in a year, without interrupting their other studies. According to my plan, my work should be given to the highest form but one. Youths in this class are capable of pleasure and improvement from this history; and I would not have them enter upon that of the Romans till they study rhetoric.

It would have been useful, and even necessary, to have given some idea of the ancient authors from whence I have extracted the facts which I here relate. But the course itself of the history will naturally give me an opportunity of mentioning them.

In the mean time it may not be improper to take notice of the superstitious credulity with which most of these authors are reproached, on the subject of auguries, auspices, prodigies, dreams, and oracles. And, indeed, we are shocked to see writers, so judicious in all other respects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate these particulars with a scrupulous accuracy; and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of trifling and ridiculous ceremonies, such as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, signs discovered in the smoking entrails of beasts, the greater or less greediness of chickens in pecking corn, and a thousand similar absurdities.

It must be confessed, that a sensible reader cannot without astonishment, see persons among the ancients in the highest repute for wisdom and knowledge: generals who were the least liable to be influenced by popular opinions, and most sensible how necessary it is to take advantage of auspicious moments; the wisest councils of princes well skilled in the arts of government; the most august assemblies of gravesenators; in a word the most powerful and most learned nations in all ages; to see, I say, all these so unaccountably weak, as to make to depend on these trifling practices and absurd observances, the decision of the greatest affairs, such as the declaring of war, the giving battle, or pursuing a victory, deliberations that were of the

\* As the fig-trees.

† Former editions of this work were printed in ten volumes.

utmost importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But at the same time, we must be so just as to own, that their manners, customs, and laws, would not permit men, in those ages, to dispense with the observation of these practices: that education, hereditary tradition transmitted from immemorial time, the universal belief and consent of different nations, the precepts, and even examples of philosophers; that all these, I say, made the practices in question appear venerable in their eyes: and that these ceremonies, how absurd soever they may appear to us, and are really so in themselves, constituted part of the religion and public worship of the ancients.

This religion was false, and this worship mistaken; yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature; the stream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure. Man, assisted only by his own light, sees nothing beyond the present moment. Futurity is to him an abyss invisible to the most keen, the most piercing sagacity, and exhibits nothing on which he may with certainty fix his views, or form his resolutions. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his designs. He is sensible, that he is dependant entirely on a Supreme Power, that disposes all events with absolute authority, and which, in spite of his utmost efforts, and of the wisdom of the best concerted schemes, by raising only the smallest obstacles and slightest disappointments, renders it impossible for him to execute his measures.

This obscurity and weakness oblige him to have recourse to a superior knowledge and power: he is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the strong desire he has to succeed in all his undertakings, to address that Being who he is sensible has reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of disposing it as he sees fitting. He accordingly directs prayers, makes vows, and offers sacrifices, to prevail, if possible, with the Deity, to reveal himself, either in dreams, in oracles, or other means which may manifest his will; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment; and that it is a man's greatest interest to know this supreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependance on, and veneration of the Supreme Being, is natural to man: it is imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it, by the inward sense of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which surround him; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourse to the Deity, is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the strongest band by which man is united to his Creator.

Those who were so happy as to know the true God, and were chosen to be his peculiar people, never failed to address him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain his succour, and to know his will. He accordingly vouchsafed to reveal himself to them; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the most astonishing kind.

But those who were so blind as to substitute falsehood in the place of truth, directed themselves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to answer their expectations, nor recompense the homage that mortals paid them, any otherwise than by error and illusion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence arose the vain observation of dreams, which, from a superstitious credulity, they mistook for salutary warnings from heaven; those obscure and equivocal answers of oracles, beneath whose veil the spirits of darkness concealed their ignorance; and, by a studied ambiguity, reserved to themselves an evasion or subterfuge, whatever might be the event. To this are owing the prognostics with regard to futurity, which men fancied they should find in the entrails of beasts, in the flight and singing of birds, in the aspect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance; those dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which, it was believed nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even sometimes the effusion of human blood: in fine, those black inventions of magic, those delusions, enchantments, sorceries, invocations of ghosts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a received usage, observed by the heathen nations in general; and this usage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a short account. We have a signal proof of this in that passage of the *Cyropædia*, where Cambyzes, the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince such noble instructions; instructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain and great king. He exhorts him, above all things, to pay the highest reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterprise, whether important or inconsiderable, without first calling upon and consulting them; he enjoins him to honour the priests and augurs, as being their ministers and the interpreters of their will, but yet not to trust or abandon himself so implicitly and blindly to them, as not by his own application, to learn every thing relating to the science of divination, of auguries and auspices. The reason which he gives for the subordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the benefit derived from consulting them in all things, is this:—How clear-sighted soever mankind may be in the ordinary course of affairs, their views are always very narrow and bounded with regard to futurity; whereas the Deity, at a single glance, takes in all ages and events. 'As the gods (says Cambyzes to his son), are eternal, they know equally all things, past, present, and to come. With regard to the mortals who address them, they give salutary counsels to those whom they are pleased to favour, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought, or ought not to undertake. If it is observed, that the deities do not give the like counsels to all men, we are not to wonder at it, since no necessity obliges them to attend to the welfare of those persons on whom they do not vouchsafe to confer their favour.'

Such was the doctrine of the most learned and most enlightened nations, with respect to the different kinds of divination; and it is no wonder that the authors who wrote the history of those nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of such particulars as constituted part of their religion and worship, and was frequently in a manner the soul of their deliberations, and the standard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the same reason, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely, in the ensuing history, what relates to this subject, though I have, however, retrenched a great part of it.

Archbishop Usher is my usual guide in chronology. In the history of the Carthaginians I commonly set down four æras: The year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity's sake, I mark thus, A. M.; those of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and lastly, the year before the birth of our Saviour, which I suppose to be the 4004th year of the world: wherein I follow Usher and others, though they suppose it to be four years earlier.

We shall now proceed to give the reader the proper preliminary information concerning this work, according to the order in which it is executed.

To know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe; the steps whereby they rose to that pitch of grandeur related in history; by what ties families and cities were united, in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority; it will be necessary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to those ages in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions (after the confusion of tongues), began to people the earth.

In these early ages every father was the supreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever contests and divisions might arise within it; the natural legislator over his little society; the defender and protector of those who by their birth, education, and weakness, were under his protection and safeguard, and whose interests paternal tenderness rendered equally dear to him as his own.

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestic labours they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of



importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which paternal vigilance established in this little domestic senate being dictated with no other view than to promote the general welfare; concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors with a full and free consent; were religiously kept and preserved in families as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and security.

But different motives gave rise to different laws. One man, overjoyed at the birth of a first-born son, resolved to distinguish him from his future children, by bestowing on him a more considerable share of his possessions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the interest of a beloved wife, or darling daughter whom he wanted to settle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to secure their rights and increase their advantages. The solitary and cheerless state to which a wife would be reduced in case she should become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide before-hand, for the subsistence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity. From these different views, and others of the like nature, arose the different customs of nations, as well as their rights, which are infinitely various.

In proportion as every family increased, by the birth of children, and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by insensible degrees, towns and cities.

These societies growing, in process of time, very numerous, and the families being divided into various branches, each of which had its head, whose different interests and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was necessary to entrust one person with the government of the whole, in order to unite all these chiefs or heads under a single authority, and to maintain the public peace by an uniform administration. The idea which men still retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to choose from among their wisest and most virtuous men, him in whom they had observed the tenderest and most fatherly disposition. Neither ambition nor cabal had the least share in this choice: probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on these occasions, and gave the preference to the most worthy.

To heighten the lustre of this newly acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themselves entirely to the public good; to defend the state against the invasions of their neighbours, and the factions of discontented citizens: the title of king was bestowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a sceptre put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were assigned, and guards appointed for the security of their persons; tributes were granted; they were invested with full powers to administer justice, and for this purpose were armed with a sword, in order to restrain injustice, and punish crimes.

At first, every city had its particular king, who being more solicitous to preserve his dominion than to enlarge it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country. But the almost unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbours; jealousy against a more powerful king; a turbulent and restless spirit; a martial disposition, or thirst of aggrandisement; or the display of abilities; gave rise to wars, which frequently ended in the entire subjection of the vanquished, whose cities were possessed by the victor, and increased insensibly his dominions. Thus, a first victory paving the way to a second, and making a prince more powerful and enterprising, several cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or less extent, according to the degree of ardour with which the victor had pushed his conquests.

But among these princes were found some, whose ambition being too vast to confine itself within a single kingdom, broke over all bounds, and spread universally like a torrent, or the ocean; swallowed up kingdoms and nations; and fancied that glory consisted in depriving princes of their dominions who had not done them the least injury; in carrying fire and sword into the most remote countries, and in leaving every where bloody traces of

their progress! Such was the origin of those famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made a various use of victory, according to the diversity of their dispositions or interests. Some, considering themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and imagining they were sufficiently indulged in sparing their lives, bereaved them, as well as their children, of their possessions, their country, and their liberty; subjected them to a most severe captivity; employed them in those arts which are necessary for the support of life, in the lowest and most servile offices of the house, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the most inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ransack the bowels of the earth, merely to satiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and slaves, masters and bondmen.

Others introduced the custom of transporting whole nations into new countries, where they settled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

Other princes again, of more gentle dispositions, contented themselves with only obliging the vanquished nations to purchase their liberties, and the enjoyment of their laws and privileges, by annual tributes laid on them for that purpose; and sometimes they would suffer kings to sit peaceably on their thrones, upon condition of their paying them some kind of homage.

But such of these monarchs as were the wisest and ablest politicians, thought it glorious to establish a kind of equality betwixt the nations newly conquered and their other subjects; granting the former almost all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed: and by this means the great number of nations that were spread over different and far distant countries, constituted, in some measure, but one city, at least but one people.

Thus have I given a general and concise idea of mankind, from the earliest monuments which history has preserved on this subject; the particulars whereof I shall endeavour to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I shall not touch upon the history of the Jews, nor that of the Romans.

The history of the Carthaginians, that of the Assyrians, and the Lydians, which occurs in the first volume, is supported by the best authorities; but it is highly necessary to review the geography, the manners and customs of the different nations here treated of; and first with regard to the religion, manners, and institutions of the Persians and Grecians; because these show their genius and character, which, we may call, in some measure, the soul of history. For to take notice only of facts and dates, and confine our curiosity and researches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in visiting many countries, should content himself with knowing their exact distance from each other, and consider only the situation of the several places, their buildings, and the dresses of the people; without giving himself the least trouble to converse with the inhabitants, in order to inform himself of their genius, manners, disposition, laws, and government. Homer, whose design was to give, in the person of Ulysses, a model of a wise and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his *Odyssey*, that his hero informed himself very exactly of the manners and customs of the several people whose cities he visited; in which he ought to be imitated by every person who applies himself to the study of history.

As Asia will hereafter be the principal scene of the history we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader such a general idea of it as may at least make him acquainted with its most considerable provinces and cities.

The northern and eastern parts of Asia are less known in ancient history. To the north are Asiatic Sarmatia and Asiatic Scythia, which answer to Tartary.

Sarmatia is situated between the river Tanais, which separates Europe and Asia, and the river Rha, or Volga. Scythia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other side of mount Imaus. The nations of Scythia best known to us, are the Sacæ and Massagetæ.

The most eastern parts are, Serica, Cathay; Sinarum Regio, China; and India. This last country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this side the Ganges, included

between that river and the Indus, which now composes the dominions of the Great Mogul; the other part was that on the other side of the Ganges.

The remaining part of Asia, of which much greater mention is made in history, may be divided into five or six parts, taking it from east to west.

I. Upper Asia, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are Gedrosia, Carmania, Arachosia, Drangiana, Bactriana, the capital of which was Bactra; Sogdiana, Margiana, Hyrcania, near the Caspian Sea; Parthia, Media, its chief city Ecbatana; Persia, the cities of Persepolis and Elymais; Susiana, the city of Susa; Assyria, the city of Nineveh, situated on the river Tigris; Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and Tigris; Babylonia, the city of Babylon on the river Euphrates.

II. Asia between the Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian Sea. Therein we may distinguish four provinces.—1. Colchis, the river Phasis, and mount Caucasus.—2. Iberia.—3. Albania; which two last-mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia.—4. The greater Armenia. This is separated from the lesser by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia by mount Taurus; and from Assyria by mount Niphates. Its cities are Artaxata and Tigranocerta, and the river Araxes runs through it.

III. Asia Minor.—This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different situation of its provinces.

1. Northward, the shore of the Pontus Euxinus; Pontus, under three different names. Its cities are, Trapezus, not far from which are the people called Chalybes or Chaldæi; Themiscyra, a city on the river Thermodon, and famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. Paphlagonia, Bithynia; the cities of which are, Nicæ, Prusa, Nicomedia, Chalcedon opposite to Constantinople, and Heraclea.

2. Westward, going down by the shores of the Ægean sea: Mysia, of which there are two. The Lesser, in which stood Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Parium, Abydos opposite to Sestos from which it is separated only by the Dardanelles; Dardanum, Sigæum, Ilion, or Troy; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of Tenedos. The rivers are, the Æsepus, the Granicus, and the Simois. Mount Ida. This region is sometimes called Phrygia Minor, of which Trœas is part.

The Greater Mysia.—Antandros, Trajanopolis, Adramyttium, Pergamus. Opposite to this Mysia is the island of Lesbos; the cities of which are, Methymna, where the celebrated Arion was born; and Mitylene, which has given to the whole island its modern name Metelin.

Æolia.—Elea, Cumæ, Phocæa. Ionia.—Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus. Priene, Miletus. Caria.—Laodicea, Antiochia, Magnesia, Alabanda.—The river Mæander. Doris.—Halicarnassus, Cnidos.

Opposite to these four last countries, are the islands Chios, Samos, Pathmos; Southward, along the Mediterranean, Cos; and lower, towards the south, Rhodes.

3. Lycia, the cities of which are, Telmesus, Patara. The river Xanthus. Here begins mount Taurus, which runs the whole length of Asia, and assumes different names, according to the several countries through which it passes. Pamphylia.—Perga, Aspendus, Sida. Cilicia.—Seleucia, Corycium, Tarsus, on the river Cydnus. Opposite to Cilicia, is the island of Cyprus. The cities are, Salamis, Amathus, and Paphos.

4. Along the banks of the Euphrates, going up northward; the Lesser Armenia. Comana, Arabyza, Melitene, Satala. The river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates.

5. Inland: Cappadocia; the cities whereof are, Neocæsarea, Comana Pontica, Sebastia, Sebastopolis, Diocæsarea, Cæsarea, otherwise called Mazaca, and Tyana. Lycaonia and Isauria.—Iconium. Isauria. Pisidia.—Seleucia and Antiochia of Pisidia. Lydia.—Its cities are, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia. The rivers are, Caystrus, and Hermus, into which the Pactolus empties itself. Mount Sipylus and Tmolus. Phrygia Major.—Synnada, Apamia.

IV. Syria, now named Suria, called under the Roman emperors the East, the chief provinces of which are, 1. Palestine, by which name is sometimes understood all Judea. Its cities are, Jerusalem, Samaria, and Cæsarea



**Palestina.** The river Jordan waters it. The name of Palestine is also given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which were, Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Accaron, and Gath.

2. **Phœnicia**, whose cities are, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus. Its mountains, Libanus, and Antilibanus.

3. **Syria**, properly so called, or Antiochena; the cities whereof are, Antiochia, Apamia, Laodicea, and Seleucia.

4. **Comagena**.—The city of Samosata.

5. **Cœlesyria**.—The cities are, Zeugma, Thapsacus, Palmyra and Damascus.

V. **Arabia Petræa**.—Its cities are, Petra, and Bostra. Mount Casius. Deserta. Felix.

#### OF RELIGION.

It is observable, that in all ages and in every country the several nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one essential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a Supreme Being, and of external forms calculated to evince such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, sacrifices, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to religious worship. Among every people we discover a reverence and awe of the Divinity; an homage and honour paid to him; and an open profession of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings, in all their necessities, in all their adversities, and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate into futurity and to ensure success, we find them careful to consult the Divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most solemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is that which gives sanction to their oaths; and to it by imprecations is referred the punishment of such crimes and enormities as escape the knowledge and power of men. On all their private concerns, voyages, journeys, marriages, diseases, the Divinity is still invoked. With him their every repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprise formed, without his aid being first implored; to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by public acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils, which they never fail to set apart as appertaining by right to the Divinity.

No variety of opinion is discernable in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some few persons, depraved by false philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the public voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties, or forming sects; the whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads; whilst they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the false reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a first principle, which forms a part of the nature of man; from an inward sentiment implanted in his heart by the Author of his being; and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itself.

Such were the source and origin of the religion of the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of persisting in the purity and simplicity of these first principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, have strangely disfigured their original beauty. There are still some faint rays, some brilliant sparks of light, which a general depravity has not been able to extinguish utterly; but they are incapable of dispelling the profound darkness of the gloom which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view but absurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiousness, and disorder; in a word, a hideous chaos of frantic excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these principles laid down by Cicero? That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world, and disposes every thing as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conscious of whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by employing of riches and magnificence in the worship that is paid to him, but by presenting him with a heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious were the result of the reflections of some few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and had recourse to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some valuable relics. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feasts and ceremonies, the essence of the Pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors, the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes, were celebrated in the hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure to the imitation, as well as adoration, of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the mind of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their most sacred and venerable mysteries, far from perceiving any thing which can recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life, we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and sacrilegious worship, under the name, and in a manner under the sanction of religion itself; as we shall soon see in the sequel.

After these general reflections upon Paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles, which are, 1. The feasts. 2. The oracles, auguries, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public shows and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only of what appears most worthy of the reader's curiosity, and has most relation to this history. I omit saying any thing of sacrifices, having given a sufficient idea of them elsewhere.

#### OF THE FEASTS.

An infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens, of which I shall describe only three of the most famous, the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

#### THE PANATHENEA.

This feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city, to which she gave her name, (Athena) as well as to the feast of which we are speaking. Its institution was ancient, and it was called at first the Athenea; but after Theseus had united the several towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In these feasts were exhibited racing, the gymnastic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of music and poetry. Ten commissaries, elected from the ten tribes, presided on this occasion, to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. This festival continued several days.

In the morning of the first day a race was run on foot, in which each of the runners carried a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other, without interrupting the race. They started from the Cerameus, one of the suburbs of Athens, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the

prize. In the afternoon they ran the same course on horseback. The gymnastic, or athletic combats, followed the races. The place for that exercise was upon the banks of the Ilissus, a small river, which runs through Athens, and empties itself into the sea at the Piræus.

Pericles first instituted the prize of music. In this dispute were sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who, at the expense of their lives, delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ; to which was afterwards added the eulogium of Thrasybulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. The prize was warmly disputed, not only amongst the musicians, but still more so amongst the poets; and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in this contest. Æschylus is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein was carried, with great pomp and ceremony, a sail, embroidered with gold, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of Pallas against the Titans and Giants. This sail was affixed to a vessel, which bore the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails, and with a thousand oars, was conducted from the Ceramicus to the temple of Eleusis, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestic. At the head of it were old men who carried olive branches in their hands, *βαλλοφόροι*; and these were chosen for the symmetry of their shape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age, also accompanied them in the same equipage. The grown and robust men formed the second class. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers that inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons of both sexes, selected from the best families in the city. The young men wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and sang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddess. The maids carried baskets, *κρηφόροι*, in which were placed the sacred utensils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils, to keep them from the sight of the spectators. The person, to whose care those sacred things were intrusted, was bound to observe a strict continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins; or rather, as Demosthenes says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was a high honour for a young woman to be chosen for so noble and august an office, and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We shall see that Hipparchus offered this indignity to the sister of Harmodius, which extremely incensed the conspirators against the Pisistratidæ. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and seats for them.

The children of both sexes closed the pomp of the procession. In this august ceremony, the *δαφνοφοροι* were appointed to sing certain verses of Homer: a manifest proof of the estimation in which the works of that poet were held, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, first introduced that custom.

I have observed elsewhere, that in the gymnastic games of this feast a herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal services which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

In this festival the people of Athens put themselves, and the whole republic, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kind of prosperity. From the time of the battle of Marathon, in these public acts of worship, express mention was made of the Plateæans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

#### FEASTS OF BACCHUS.

The worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where



several feasts had been established in honour of the god; two particularly more remarkable than all the rest, called the great and the less feasts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named *Lenea*, from a Greek word (*Lenos*) that signifies a wine-press. The great feasts were commonly called *Dionysia*, from one of the names of that god, and were solemnized in the spring within the city.

In each of these feasts the public were entertained with games, shows, and dramatic representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificence, as will be seen hereafter: at the same time the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators, expressly chosen for that purpose, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then represented before the people.

These feasts continued many days. Those who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twisted round it; had drums, horns, pipes and other instruments, calculated to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some represented Silenus, some Pan, others the Satyrs, all drest in suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses: others dragged goats\* along for sacrifices. Men and women, ridiculously dressed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent gestures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously; the women especially seemed more outrageous than the men; and, quite out of their senses, in their furious transports invoked the god, whose feast they celebrated, with loud cries; εὐοὶ Βάκχε, ὦ Ιακχε, or ἰὸ Βάκχε, or ἰὸ Βάκχε.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called *κρηφόροι*, from carrying baskets on their heads, covered with vine leaves and ivy.

To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god who chose to be honoured in such a manner. The spectators gave in to the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantic spirit. Nothing was seen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness can conceive of gross and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wisest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practised. I say an entire people; for Plato, speaking of the Bacchanalia, says in direct terms, that he had seen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

Livy informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalia having secretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed there under cover of the night, and the inviolable secrecy which all persons, who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to observe. The senate, being apprised of the affair, put a stop to those sacrilegious feasts by the most severe penalties; and first banished the practisers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. These examples inform us, how far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the sacred name of the Divinity, is capable of misleading the mind of man.

#### THE FEASTS OF ELEUSIS.

There is nothing in all Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feast of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called, by way of eminence, 'the mysteries,' from being, according to Pausanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above men. Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres himself, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughter Proserpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which she rewarded the inhabitants. She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed them in

\* Goats were sacrificed, because they spoiled the vines.

the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called *θεσμιπρόβια*, and *Initia*. To these first happy lessons fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable amongst the Athenians.

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater; of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less were solemnized in the month *Anthesterion*, which answers to our November; the great in the month *Boedromion*, which corresponds to August. Only the Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them, each sex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded, so that *Herculus*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, were obliged to be adopted as Athenians in order to their admission; which, however, extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at *Eleusis*.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river *Ilissus*, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in strict continence during a certain interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things took place upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendor dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, heightened the terror and amazement; whilst the person to be admitted, overwhelmed with dread, and sweating through fear, heard trembling, the mysterious volumes read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites gave birth to many disorders, which the severe law of silence imposed on the persons initiated, prevented from coming to light, as *St. Gregory Nazianzen* observes. What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The president in this ceremony was called *Hierophantes*. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not permitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom *Ceres* herself instructed, was *Eumolpus*; from whom his successors were called *Eumolpidæ*. He had three colleagues; one who carried a torch; another a herald, whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words; and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king, and was one of the nine *Archons*. His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants, one chosen from the family of the *Eumolpidæ*, a second from that of the *Geryces*, and the two last from two other families. He had besides ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices, from whence they derived their name.

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddesses (*Ceres* and *Proserpine*), to whose service they devoted themselves; and procured to them a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world; whilst, on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. *Diogenes the Cynic* believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to persuade him to avoid such a misfortune, by being initiated before his death—'What,' said he, 'shall *Agesilaus* and *Epaminondas* lie amongst mud and dung, whilst the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed?' *Socrates* was not more

credulous ; he would not be initiated into these mysteries, which was perhaps one reason that rendered his religion suspected.

Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres ; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feast-days, although out of mistake and with no ill design, were both put to death without mercy. It was also a capital crime to divulge the secrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and had a reward set upon his head. It very nearly cost the poet Æschylus his life, for speaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The disgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. Whoever had violated this secrecy, was avoided as a wretch accursed and excommunicated. Pausanias, in several passages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleusis, and the ceremonies practised there, stops short, and declares he cannot proceed, because he had been forbidden by a dream or vision.

This feast, the most celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days' continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After some previous ceremonies and sacrifices on the first three days, upon the fourth in the evening began the procession of "the Basket ;" which was laid upon an open chariot slowly drawn by oxen, and followed by a long train of the Athenian women. They all carried mysterious baskets in their hands, filled with several things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil or purple. This ceremony represented the basket into which Proserpine put the flowers she was gathering when Pluto seized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of 'the Torches : ' because at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in search of her daughter.

The sixth was the most famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, which is the same as Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and Ceres, whose statue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The procession began at the Ceramicus, and passing through the principal places of the city continued to Eleusis. The way leading to it was called 'the sacred way,' and lay across a bridge over the river Cephissus. This procession was very numerous, and generally consisted of thirty thousand persons. The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole of this multitude ; and Strabo says, its extent was equal to that of the theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way re-echoed with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The route before mentioned, through the sacred way, and over the Cephissus, was the usual one : but after the Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponnesian war, had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnastic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley ; without doubt because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two first days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years ; and history does not mention that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great. The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve, in so general an affliction, to solemnize a festival which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing. It was continued down to the time of the Christian emperors. Valentinian would have abo-



lished it, if *Prætextatus*, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great; as were all the rest of the Pagan solemnities.

## OF AUGURIES, ORACLES, ETC.

Nothing is more frequently mentioned in ancient history, than oracles, auguries, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without having first consulted the gods. This was a custom universally established amongst the Egyptian, Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, that it was derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned, but that God, before the deluge, did manifest his will to mankind in different methods, as he has since done to his people, sometimes in his own person and *viva voce*, sometimes by the ministry of angels or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the descendants of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of Idolatry. None of the ancients have insisted more upon the necessity of consulting the gods on all occasions by auguries and oracles than Xenophon; and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents, in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him: that, far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him; so narrow and short-sighted is he in all his views, that the slightest obstacles can frustrate his greatest designs; that the Divinity alone, to whom all ages are present, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprises; and that it is reasonable to believe he will enlighten and protect those who adore him with the purest affection, who invoke him at all times with greatest constancy and fidelity, and consult him with most sincerity and integrity.

## OF AUGURIES.

What a reproach is it to human reason, that so luminous a principle should have given birth to the absurd reasonings, and wretched notions, in favour of the science of augurs and soothsayers, and been the occasion of espousing, with blind devotion, the most ridiculous puerilities: should have made the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to sing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain; the inspection of the entrails of beasts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which, according to them, did sometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added, accidental rencounters, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad presages; forebodings, prodigies, monsters, eclipses, comets; every extraordinary phenomenon, every unforeseen accident, with an infinity of chimeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men, illustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers, have actually given into such absurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitied for his servile observance of the senseless customs of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs, and prodigies. He tells us in his works, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs, upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wisest of the Pagans knew well how to appreciate the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmost contempt, and in a manner best adapted to expose its absurdity. The grave

ensor Cato was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias, whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the entrails of a victim. 'What,' said he, 'have you more confidence in the liver of a beast, than in so old and experienced a captain as I am?' Marcellus, who had been five times consul, and was augur, said, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the sinister flight of birds, which was, to keep himself close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himself upon the subject of auguries without ambiguity or reserve. Nobody was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself (as M. Morin observes in his dissertation upon the same subject). As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himself acquainted with their most abstruse secrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himself fully in their science. That he did so, sufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which, it may be said, he has exhausted the subject. In the second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he combats and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs, each more convincing than the other, the falsity, contrariety, and impossibility of that art. But what is very surprising, in the midst of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the generals and magistrates, who on important conjunctures had condemned the prognostics; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his opinion, ought nevertheless to be respected, out of regard to religion, and the prejudices of the people.

All that I have hitherto said tends to prove, that Paganism was divided into two sects, almost equal enemies of religion; the one by their superstitious and blind regard for auguries, the other by their irreligious contempt and derision of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the pre-science of the Divinity and his almighty providence, was true; but the consequence deduced from it in favour of auguries, false and absurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain, that the Divinity himself had established these external signs to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions: but they had nothing of this in their system. These auguries and divinations therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions of man, who presumed to interrogate God, and to oblige him to give answers upon every idle imagination and unjust enterprise.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing enjoined by the science of augury, did not fail, however, to observe its trivial ceremonies through policy, in order the better to subject the minds of the people to themselves, and to reconcile them to their own purposes, by the assistance of superstition; but by their contempt for auguries, and their inward conviction of their falsity, they were led into a disbelief of the Divine Providence, and to despise religion itself; conceiving it inseparable from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and consequently unworthy a man of sense.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, because, having mistaken the Creator, and abused the light of nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to their own darkness, and to a reprobate mind; and, if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, we, even at this day, should give ourselves up to the same superstitions.

#### OF ORACLES.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles, than Greece. I shall confine myself to those which were the most noted. The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, in Epirus, was much celebrated;

where Jupiter gave answers either by vocal oaks, or doves,\* which had also their language, or by resounding basons of brass, or by the mouths of priests and priestesses.

The oracle of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was nothing more than a hero, was in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering sacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave, by small ladders, through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern, the entrance of which was also exceeding small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no sooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the same manner. Some saw, others heard, wonders. From thence they returned quite stupefied, and out of their senses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory; not without great need of her assistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had seen and heard; admitting that they had seen or heard any thing at all. Pausanias, who had consulted that oracle himself, and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it; to which Plutarch adds some particular circumstances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.

The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ, in the neighbourhood of Miletus, so called from Branchus, the son of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the priests had delivered its treasures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an establishment in the remotest parts of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians re-established that temple with a magnificence which, according to Strabo, surpassed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city where the priests Branchidæ had settled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the sacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

Tacitus relates something very singular,† though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near Colophon. ‘Germanicus,’ says he, ‘went to consult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman that gives the answers there, as at Delphi, but a man, chosen out of certain families, and almost always of Miletus. It is sufficient to let him know the number and names of those who come to consult him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drank of the waters of a spring within it, he delivers answers in verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of composing in measure. It is said, that he foretold to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the custom of oracles.’

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is very obvious, that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. He was worshipped there under the name of the Pythian, a title derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word, that signifies to inquire, *πυθίσθαι*, because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphic priestess was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated, the Pythian games. Delphi was an ancient city of Phocis in

\* Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which, being shaken by the wind, or by some other means, gave a confused sound. Servius observes, that the same word, in the Thessalian language, signifies *dove* and *prophetess* which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make those brazen basons sound by some secret means, and to give what signification they pleased to a confused and inarticulate noise.

† Tacit. *Annal.* l. ii. c. 54.



Achaia. It stood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and surrounded with precipices, that fortified it without the help of art. Diodorus says, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation rose, which made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain. A shepherd having approached it, out of a desire to know the causes of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately seized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which without doubt, he did not understand himself: but which, however, foretold futurity. Others made the same experiment, and it was soon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have something divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins, *Cortina*, perhaps from the skin that covered it. From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphi rose insensibly round about this cave; and a temple was erected, which, at length, became very magnificent. The epuration of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, as they did not yet amount to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death, or disease. There were other assistants: besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets; it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to inspect them. To these the demands of the inquirers were delivered by word of mouth, or in writing; and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphi. The ancients represent the latter as a woman that roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphi, Erythræ, Babylon, Cumæ, and many other places, from her having resided in them all. The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary of Apollo. This miraculous vapour had not that effect at all times and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle being given to Alexander the Great worthy of remark. He went to Delphi to consult the god, at a time when the priestess pretended it was forbidden to ask him any questions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, 'Ah, my son, you are not to be resisted!' or, 'My son, you are invincible!' Upon which words he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple, which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the symptoms of distraction and frenzy. She uttered, at intervals, some words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected, and arranged with a certain degree of order and connection. After she had been a certain time upon the tripod, she was reconducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days to recover from her fatigue; and, as Lucan says, a sudden death was often either the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm:

Numinis aut pœna est mors immatura recepti,  
Aut pretium.

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to remark that it was very surprising that Apollo, who presided over the choir of the muses, should inspire his priestess no better. But Plutarch informs us, that it was not the god who composed the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connection, and coming only by starts, if that expression may be used, from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia when she herself composed verses, which, though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own: the oracles were however often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility (if I may use that expression), so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite events. By the help of this artifice, the dæmons, who of themselves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the Pagan world. When Cræsus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphi upon the success of that war, and was answered, that by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the events might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus:

*Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.*

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must, however be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have related in the history of Cræsus the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was, to demand of it, by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphi replied in verse, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass, which was really the case. The emperor Trajan made a similar trial of the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter sealed up,\* to which he demanded an answer. The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had written nothing. The wonderful facility with which dæmons can transfer themselves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two answers, which I have last mentioned, and to foretel in one country, what they had seen in another; this is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precisely by the events foretold, we may believe that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has sometimes permitted the dæmons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretel them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehension, is frequently attested in the Holy Scriptures.

It has been questioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane history, should be ascribed to the operations of dæmons, or only to the wickedness and imposture of men. Vandale, a Dutch physician, has maintained the latter opinion; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted it, in the persuasion (to use his own words) that it was indifferent, as to the truth of Christianity; whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of

\* One method of consulting the oracle was by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

spirits, or a series of impostures. Father Baltus the Jesuit, professor of the Holy Scriptures in the university of Strasburgh, has refuted them both in a very solid treatise, wherein he demonstrates, invincibly, from the unanimous authority of the Fathers, that dæmons were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and success, the rashness and presumption of the Anabaptist physician; who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of those holy doctors, secretly endeavoured to efface the high idea all true believers should entertain of those great leaders of the Church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is so great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradition. Now if that was ever certain and uniform in anything, it is so in this point; for all the Fathers of the Church, and ecclesiastical writers of all ages, maintain, and attest that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not hinder our believing that the priests and priestesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian history, we have seen more than once the Delphic priestess suffer herself to be corrupted by presents. It was from that motive she persuaded the Lacedæmonians to assist the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity, to make way for Cleomenes; and drest up an oracle to support the imposture of Lysander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by sea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, 'to defend themselves with wooden walls.' Demosthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently suggested by passion or interest, and suspecting, with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour, boldly declared, that the Pythia philippized; and bade the Athenians and Thebans remember that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to and amusing themselves with the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly, consulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The same father Baltus examines, with equal success, a second point in dispute, namely, the cessation of oracles. Mr. Vandale, to oppose with some advantage a truth so glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, had falsified the sense of the Fathers, by making them say, 'that oracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth.' The learned apologist for the Fathers shows, that they all allege that oracles ceased after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his Gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion as his salutary doctrines became known to mankind, and gained ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the Fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the Christian religion was this silence imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ! Every Christian had this power. Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and consents that a Christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige those givers of oracles to confess themselves devils. Lactantius informs us, that every Christian could silence them by only the sign of the cross. And all the world knows, that when Julian the Apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo; the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to answer those who enquired the cause of his silence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the hodies of Christian martyrs, amongst which was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Christian religion ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and, at the same time, of the darkness to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have seen, amongst the Carthaginians, fathers and mothers more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most vigorous of their youth, in obedience to the bloody



dictates of their oracles and false gods. The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of sacrifices, and designed to make the gods propitious. 'What greater evil,' cries Lactantius, 'could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than thus to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides!'

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphi, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles; which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the minds of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally among the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphi, and the immense riches amassed in it through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs. The temple of Delphi having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphictyons, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amounts to nine hundred thousand livres.\* The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphi were taxed a fourth part of it, and collected contributions in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that service. Amasis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcæonidæ, a potent family of Athens, took upon themselves the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent, by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges king of Lydia, and Cræsus one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphi with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vases, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold which Cræsus alone made to this temple amounted, according to Herodotus, to upwards of two hundred and fifty-four talents; that is, about seven hundred and sixty-two thousand French livres;† and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of these presents were in being in the time of Herodotus. Diodorus Siculus, adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres.‡

Amongst the statues of gold, consecrated by Cræsus in the temple of Delphi, was placed that of his female baker, the occasion of which was this:—Alyattes, Cræsus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she laid a plan to get rid of a son-in-law, that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf, that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime (in which she ought to have had no part at all), gave Cræsus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he ordered a statue to her in the temple of Delphi. But, it may be said, could a person of so mean a condition deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative; and with a much better title, he says, than many of the so much-vaunted conquerors and Heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

It is not to be wondered at, that such immense riches should have tempted the avarice of mankind, and exposed Delphi to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above an hundred years after, the Phœceans, near neighbours of Delphi, plundered it at several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphi,

\* About 44,426*l.* sterling. † About 33,500*l.* ‡ About 1,300,000*l.*

if we may believe historians, sometimes defended this temple by surprising prodigies: and at others, either from impotence or want of presence of mind, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo (those of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach), he ordered them to be taken down, and shipping them on board his vessels, carried them with him to Rome.

Those who are desirous of more particular information concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphi, may consult some dissertations upon this subject, printed in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

#### OF THE GAMES AND COMBATS.

Games and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the ancients: and for that reason it is proper that they should find a place in this work. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we shall not be surprised at their being so prevalent in the best-governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor, and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, were not only the institutors and restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein. These subduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no disgrace to them to aspire to the victories in these combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the solemnization of these games, detracted from the lustre of those they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the subject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, whilst it immortalized themselves, seemed to promise an eternity of fame to those whose victories it celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardour which animated all Greece, to tread in the steps of those ancient heroes, and, like them, to signalize themselves in the public combats.

A reason more solid, and originating in the very nature of these combats, and of the people who used them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced those exercises, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger sort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close fight, in which, the use of fire-arms being then unknown, strength of body generally decided the victory. These athletic exercises supplied the place of those in use amongst our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c.; but they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face; they were for joining strength to the charms of person.

It is true, those exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and so useful in the ends at first proposed from them, introduced public masters, who taught them to young persons, and from practising them with success, made public show and ostentation of their skill. This sort of men applied themselves solely to the practice of this art, and carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people who, without any other employment of merit, exhibited themselves as a sight for the diversion of the public. Our dancing-masters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original designation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address; but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making variety of strange unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the wiser among the ancients had of their professed combatants and wrestling-masters.

There were four games solemnized in Greece. The Olympic, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, near which

they were celebrated, after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The Pythian, sacred to Apollo Pythius, so called from the serpent Python, killed by him; they were celebrated at Delphi every four years. The Nemæan, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had slain the lion of the Nemæan forest. They were solemnized every two years. And lastly, the Isthmian, celebrated upon the isthmus of Corinth, every four years, in honour of Neptune. Theseus was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That persons might be present at these public sports with greater quiet and security, there was a general suspension of arms, and cessation of hostilities throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators and combatants from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games, it was composed of wild olive; in the Pythian, of laurel; in the Nemæan, of green parsley; and in the Isthmian, of the same herb dried. The institutors of these games wished that it should be implied from hence, that honour alone, and not mean and sordid interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle! We have seen in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius, who commanded in chief, 'Heavens! against what men are you leading us? Insensible to interest, they combat only for glory!' Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgment.

It was from the same principle that the Romans, whilst they bestowed upon other occasions crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who had saved the life of a citizen. 'O manners, worthy of eternal remembrance!' cried Pliny, in relating this laudable custom. 'O grandeur, truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service, indeed, above all reward; thereby sufficiently evincing their opinion, that it was criminal to save a man's life from the motive of lucre and interest!' 'O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore solo donaverint; et cum reliquis coronas auro commendarent, solum civis in pretio esse noluissent, clara professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse luci causa!'

Amongst all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the first rank, and that for three reasons. They were sacred to Jupiter, the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators attracted from all parts, than any of the rest.

If Pausanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death, and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or pass on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law; and slipt in disguise amongst those who were training the wrestlers. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered the penalty enacted by the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence and saved her life.

This law was very conformable with the manners of the Greeks, amongst whom the ladies were very reserved, seldom appeared in public, had separate apartments, called Gynæcea, and never ate at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling and the Pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

The same Pausanias tells us in another place, that the priestess of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them. For my part, I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games.



They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. Cicero assures us, that with them it was no less honourable than the consular dignity in its original splendour with the ancient Romans. And in another place he says, that to conquer at Ulypia was almost, in the estimation of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace speaks in still stronger terms of this kind of victory. He is not afraid to say, that 'it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men but gods.'

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually stimulate their endeavours, and make them regardless of expenses, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, through all future ages, would be enrolled in their annals, and stand in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and form the subject of conversation in the most illustrious assemblies; for these odes were sung in every house, and formed a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory?

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were composed. M. Burette has treated this subject in several dissertations, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of style, are united with profound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren; and, in what I have already said upon the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbe Massieu's remarks upon the Odes of Pindar.

The combats which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the public games, were boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, the discus or quoit, and racing. To these may be added the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as these were neither important nor of any great reputation, I shall content myself with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account of the Athletæ, or combatants.

#### OF THE ATHLETÆ, OR COMBATANTS.

The term Athletæ is derived from the Greek word *αθλος*, which signifies labour, combat. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with an intention to dispute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called Gymnastic, from the Athletæ's practising naked.

Those who were designed for this profession frequented, from their most tender age, the Gymnasia or Palæstræ, which were a kind of academies maintained for that purpose at the public expense. In these places, such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to train them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a coarse heavy sort of bread, called *μάζα*. They were absolutely forbidden the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus:\*

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam  
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,  
Abstinit venere et vino.

Who in the Olympic race the prize would gain,  
Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain,

\* Art. Poet. v. 412.



Excess of heat and cold has often try'd,  
Love's softness banish'd, and the glass deny'd.

St. Paul, by a comparison drawn from the *Athletæ*, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated, to a sober and penitent life. 'Those who strive (says he) for the mastery are temperate in all things: Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.' Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the *Athletæ* endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual denial and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed upon themselves, of all that was most pleasing and grateful to their passions. It is true, that *Athletæ* did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The *Athletæ*, before their exercises,\* were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering falling off, that accident was the occasion of sacrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The *Athletæ* were naked only in some exercises, as wrestling, boxing, the *pancratium*, and the foot-race. They practised a kind of novitiate in the *Gymnasia* for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the *Athletæ* who were to appear in them were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required; as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No foreigner was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally descended from the Argives.

The Persons who presided in the games were called *Agonothetæ*, *Adlothetæ*, and *Hellandicæ*: they registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games a herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and do nothing contrary to the established orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence, were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim so generally received elsewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats. The address of a combatant, expert in all the niceties of his art, who knows how to shift and ward dexterously, to put the change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to vanquish his competitor. Those who disputed the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exercised themselves.

#### OF WRESTLING.

Wrestling is one of the most ancient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves. Jacob supported the angel's attack so vigorously, that the latter, perceiving he could not throw so rough

\* The persons employed in this office were called *Aliptæ*.

a wrestler, was reduced to make him lame by touching the sinew of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.

Wrestling, among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles, having more share in it than address and skill. Theseus was the first that reduced it to method, and refined it by the rules of art. He was also the first who established the public schools called *Palæstræ*, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it. The wrestlers, before they began the combat, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, by making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palæstra*, sometimes by throwing a fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in the *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, the wrestlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was, to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed for this purpose: they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, seizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art, was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says in his *Pseudolus*, speaking of wine, 'He is a dangerous wrestler, he presently trips up the heels.' The Greek terms *υποσκέλλειν* and *πτερνίζειν*, and the Latin word *supplantare*, seem to imply, that one of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give him a fall.

In this manner the *Athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler who was down drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling called *Ἀκροχέρισμος*, from the *Athletæ*'s using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body, as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted in intermingling their fingers, and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his, who obliged his opponent to ask quarter. The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and Statius, in his *Thebaid*, that of Tydeus and Agyllæus.\* The wrestlers of greatest reputation amongst the Greeks, were Milo of Crotona, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time, having seized a bull by one of his hinder legs, the beast could not get loose without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipt his horses in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus king of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was desirous of seeing him, and invited him to Susa. Three soldiers of that Prince's guard, and of that band which the Persians called immortal, es-

\* *Iliad*. l. xxiii. v. 708, &c. *Ovid. Metam.* l. ix. v. 31, &c. *Phars.* l. iv. v. 612. *Stat.* l. vi. v. 847.

seemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought, and killed them all three.

#### OF BOXING, OR THE CESTUS.

Boxing is a combat at blows with the fist, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fists with a kind of offensive arms, called *Cestus*, and their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The *cestus* was a kind of gauntlet, or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead, or iron. Their use was to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the *Athletæ* came immediately to the most violent blows, and began their onset in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours passed in harassing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring by that sparring to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoiding or parrying the blows made at them. When a combatant came on to throw himself with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a surprising address in avoiding the attack by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce; upon which the battle was suspended by mutual consent for some minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed: after which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms, through weakness and faintness, explained that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself vanquished. Boxing was one of the roughest and most dangerous of the gymnastic combats: because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened, except the vanquished person persisted too long in not acknowledging his defeat; yet it was common for them to quit the field with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, several descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Apollonius Rhodius, the same battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius and Valerius Flaccus, of several other combatants.

#### OF THE PANCRATIUM.

The *Pancratium* was so called from two Greek words, which signify that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of the wrestlers; but in the *Pancratium*, it was not only allowed to make use of all the grips and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rough and dangerous. A *Pancratiast* in the Olympic games (called *Arrichlon*, or *Arrachion*), perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the throat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of the enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter at the very instant that *Arrichion* himself expired. The *Agonothetæ* crowned *Arrichion*,



though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting, which represented this combat.

#### OF THE DISCUS, OR QUOIT.

The Discus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal; as iron or brass. Those who used this exercise were called Discoboli, that is, flingers of the Discus. The epithet *κατωμαῖος*, which signifies borne upon the shoulders, given to this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shows that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burden for any length of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make men more capable of supporting the weight and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads, as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, fascines, pallisades; or in scaling of walls, when, to equal the weight of them, several of the besiegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The Athletæ, in hurling the Discus, put themselves into the posture best adapted to add force to their cast; that is, they advanced one foot, upon which they leaned the whole weight of their bodies. They then poised the Discus in their hands, and whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigour of the discharge. He that flung the Discus farthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the Discoboli, have left to posterity many master-pieces in their several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finished with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: 'What can be more finished (says he), or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the Discus, than the Discobolus of Myron?'

#### OF THE PENTATHLUM.

The Greeks gave this name to an exercise composed of five others. It is the common opinion, that those five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the Discus. It is believed that this sort of combat was decided in one day, and sometimes the same morning: and that to obtain the prize, which was single, it was required that a combatant should be the victor in all those exercises.

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a soldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the spear and dart.

#### OF RACES.

Of all the exercises which the Athletæ cultivated with so much pains and industry to enable them to appear in the public games, running held the foremost rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were solemnized at first with no other exercise.

The place where the Athletæ exercised themselves in running, was generally called the Stadium by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lists or course for these games was at first but one Stadium\* in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the Stadium, whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater.

\* The stadium was a measure of distance among the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149, six hundred feet in length. Pliny says, lib. ii. c. 23, that it was six hundred and twenty-five. Those two authors may be reconciled by considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides which, the length of the Stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.



Under that denomination was included not only the space in which the *Athletæ* ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnastic games. The place where the *Athletæ* contended, was called *Scamnia*, from its lying lower than the rest of the Stadium, on each side of which, and at the extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the Stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course, from whence the competitors started, was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand from side to side of the Stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the racers to start.

The middle of the Stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. St. Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. 'As the judges (says he) in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the Stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed, in the midst of the course, the prizes which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them.'

At the extremity of the Stadium was a goal, where the foot-races ended, but in those of chariots and horses they were to run several times round it without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence they started. There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot-race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural, and ancient.

#### I. OF THE FOOT-RACE.

The runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. Whilst they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themselves in wind by small leaps, and making little excursions, that were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal being given, they flew towards the goal, with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eye, which was solely to decide the victory. For the Agonistic laws prohibited, under the penalty of infamy, the attaining it by any foul method.

In the simple race, the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in first. In the race called *Δίαυλος*, the competitors ran twice that length; that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called *Δελυχός*, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and was composed of several *Diauli*. Sometimes it consisted of twenty-four *Stadia* backwards and forwards, turning twelve times round the goal.

There were some runners in ancient times, as well among the Greeks as Romans, who have been much celebrated for their swiftness. Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty *Stadia*\* between Athens and Lacedæmon in the space of two days, till Anystis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, went twelve hundred *Stadia*† in one day, from Sicyon to Elis. These runners were denominated *ήμεροδρομοί*, as we find in that passage of Herodotus, which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate of Fonteius and Vipsanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran seventy five thousand paces‡ before noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and sixty thousand paces§ in the Circus. Our wonder at such a prodigious speed will increase (continues he) if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four-and-

\* 57 leagues.

† 60 leagues.

‡ 30 leagues.

§ More than 53 leagues.

twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces,\* and he changed his carriage three times,† and went with the utmost diligence.

## 2. OF THE HORSE-RACES.

The race of a single horse with a rider was less celebrated among the ancients, yet it had its favourers amongst the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero king of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of Κέλης, that is, Victor in the horse-race; which name was given to the horses carrying only a single rider, Κέληται. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called Desultorii, and their riders Desultores; because, after a number of turns in the Stadium, they changed horses, by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprising address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which made the leap still more difficult. Among the African troops there were also cavalry called Desultores, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required; and these were generally Numidians.

## 3. OF THE CHARIOT-RACES.

This kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider whence it arose. It is plain that it was derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an affinity of examples of this kind. This custom being admitted, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practise it very much, in order to succeed. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots, ennobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes, and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all those who presented themselves in the Olympic games to dispute the prize in the chariot-races, were persons considerable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves eagerly aspired to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor in these games was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the splendours of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionysius, who reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stamped upon his coins, and seemed as much gratified with them as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. All the world knows the answer of Alexander the Great on this subject. When his friends asked him whether he would not dispute the prize of the races in these games? 'Yes (said he), if kings were to be my antagonists.' Which shows, that he would not have disdained these contests, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses ranged abreast; bigæ, quadrigæ. Sometimes mules supplied the place of horses, and then the chariot was called ἀπήνη. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory: one by a chariot drawn by four horses, τεθρίππω; another by one drawn by mules, ἀπήνη; and the third by a single horse, κέληται, which the title of the ode expresses.

\* 67 leagues.

† He had only a guide and an officer with him.

These chariots, upon a signal given, started together from a place called Carceres. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance as to the victory; for as they were to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than those on the right, which consequently had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The chief art consisted in taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might cut between him, and get foremost. It is obvious that these chariot-races could not be run without some danger; for as the motion of the wheels was very rapid, and it was requisite to graze against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broken the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerously wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the *Electra* of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of a chariot-race run by ten competitors. The pretended Orestes, at the twelfth and last round, which was to decide the victory, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was so unfortunate as to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his seat entangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces. But this very seldom happened. To avoid such danger, Nestor gave the following directions to his son Antilochus, who was going to dispute the prize in chariot-race. 'My son,' says he, 'drive your horses as near as possible to the boundary; for which reason, always incline your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, give him the reign, whilst the near horse, hard held, turns the boundary so close that the nave of the wheel seems to graze upon it; but have a care of running against the stone, lest you wound your horses, and dash the chariot in pieces.'

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion of much consequence, in regard to the places of those who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all started indeed from the same line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other; but he, whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c. especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as must happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds: either by getting before the first, by taking his place; if not in the first, at least in some of the subsequent rounds; for it is not to be supposed, that in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order in which they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required, that those who aspired to the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or even sending their horses thither, was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single horse-races. At the time that the city of Potidæa surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.

Hiero sent horses to Olympia, to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles



harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find, by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equestrian races.

No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece so far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots which he kept only for the races. There never was either private person or king, that sent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preserved a fragment. The victor, after having made a sumptuous sacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend how the wealth of a private person should suffice for so enormous an expense: but Antisthenes, the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he saw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in emulation of each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence; equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines; in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train. The passage is remarkable; for the same author assures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or sea. 'Wherever,' says he, 'Alcibiades travelled, he made use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians; Chios took care to provide for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with sacrifices, and provisions for his table; and Lesbos gave him wine, with whatever else was requisite for his house.' I must not omit, in speaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men; and that many of them obtained it. Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus king of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed conqueror in the race of chariots with four horses. This victory, of which till then there had been no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all possible splendour. A magnificent monument was erected at Sparta in honour of Cynisca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse. She herself dedicated a chariot of brass, drawn by four horses, in the temple of Delphi; in which the charioteer was also represented; a certain proof that she did not drive it herself. In process of time, the picture of Cynisca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inscriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

#### OF THE HONOURS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO THE VICTORS.

These honours and rewards were of several kinds. The acclamations of the spectators in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the prizes designed them. These prizes were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which custom, according to Plutarch, arose (perhaps) from a property of the palm-tree, which displays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the courage and resistance of the champion who had obtained the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms. When the victor had received the crown and palm, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the Stadium, and proclaimed aloud the name and country of the successful champion, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclamations and applause at the sight of him.



When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts made for the victors, their relations, and friends, either at the expense of the public, or by private individuals, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. Alcibiades, after having sacrificed to the Olympian Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly. Leophron did the same, as Athenæus reports; who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, caused an ox to be wade of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, of which pieces were given to all who were present.

One of the most honourable privileges granted to the Athletic victors, was the right of precedence at the public games. At Sparta it was a custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which, with reason, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which advantage was united with honour, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expense of their country. That this expense might not become too chargeable to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachmas; in the Isthmian to a hundred; and the rest in proportion. The victor and his country considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first cares of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe in the public register, the name and country of the Athletæ who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. Hence the historians, who date occurrences by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious Athletæ were amongst the Greeks one of the principal subjects of the lyric poetry. We find that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games in which the combatants signalized themselves, whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praise of the gods and heroes with those of the champions whose victories he sang. It is related upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiated in a long digression to the honour of Castor and Pollux. Scopas, satisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him, however, only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndaridæ, whom he had celebrated so well. And in fact he was well paid by them, if we may believe the sequel; for, at the feast given by the champion, whilst the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and desired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarce set his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion, with all his guests, to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the

very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expense of their country. Amongst the statues which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses to whose swiftness they were indebted for the Agonic crown: and Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstripped all the rest; and upon the sound of the trumpets, which was usual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal: and, as if she had been sensible that she had gained the victory, presented herself before the judges of the games. The Eleans declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself and the mare that had served him so well.

THE DIFFERENT TASTE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, IN REGARD TO PUBLIC SHOWS.

Before I make an end of these remarks upon the combats and games so much in estimation amongst the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a reflection, that may serve to explain the difference of character between the Greeks and Romans, with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combat of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied a grateful spectacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the savage pleasure of seeing men murder one another in cool blood; and in the times of the persecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness are apt to excite compassion in the hardest hearts.

In Greece these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into some cities, after their subjection to the Roman people. The Athenians, however, whose distinguishing characteristics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, 'First throw down,' cried out an Athenian\* from the midst of the assembly, 'throw down the altar, erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy.'

It must be allowed that in this respect the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks were infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shows, and such external contrivances as were proper to affect the senses; in the institution of which, each evinced and followed its peculiar inclination and disposition. The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, always retained, notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their ancient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public shows, far from inspiring them with horror, formed a grateful entertainment to them.

The insolent pomp of triumphs flowed from the same source, and argued no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of worthy families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns

\* It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, whose disciple Lucian had been. He flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

that had been taken in the war, explained that they had sacked, plundered, and burnt the most opulent cities; and had either destroyed or enslaved their inhabitants. In short, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from a haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies, indeed, but of wood, a substance of no long duration, which time would soon consume; and these it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this are admirable. After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity that had divided nations, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity, to have thought of re-establishing them, to perpetuate the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

I am pleased with the grief depicted on Agesilaus's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter, with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: 'Oh, unhappy Greece, to deprive thyself of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to have conquered all the Barbarians!'

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shows of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony; and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece from the solemnization of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time, in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied themselves more strictly with one another, stimulated each other against the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preserve amongst them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same fondness for the arts and sciences.

#### OF THE PRIZES OF WIT, AND THE SHOWS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE THEATRE.

I have reserved, for the conclusion of this head, another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this sort of dispute was so much the more lively and ardent, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all others, because it affects the man more nearly, is founded on his personal and internal qualities, and decides upon the merit of his intellectual capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire after with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time a most sensible pleasure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applause, to have known how to unite in their favour the suffrages of so numerous and select an assembly as that of the Olympic games; in which were present all the finest geniuses of Greece, and all who were most capable of judging of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence, and poetry. Herodotus read his history at the Olympic games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of the nine Muses



were given to the nine books which compose his work, and the people cried out wherever he passed, 'That is he, who has written our history, and celebrated our glorious success against the Barbarians so excellently.' All who had been present at the games, caused afterwards every part of Greece to resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact which I have related, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time. Plutarch observes, that Lisiás, the famous Athenian orator, contemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the Tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.

We may judge of the eagerness of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself. That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in Greek *ῥαψωδοί*. (rhapsodists), to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughes and hooting; so miserable did the verses appear. He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained some time after in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The dispute of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing in comparison with the ardour and emulation that prevailed at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it, taking occasion to give my readers, at the same time, a short view of the shows and representations of the theatre of the ancients. Those who would be more fully informed on this subject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the revered father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

#### A SHORT IDEA OF DRAMATIC POETRY.

No people ever expressed so much ardour and eagerness for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason is obvious; as no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. A poor woman, who sold herbs at Athens, discovered Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word which he affectedly made use of in expressing himself. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of passing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by public authority several times a year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance, when he disputed the prize.

The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their suffrages, and that performance, which had the most voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as such, and was represented with all possible pomp at the expense of the republic. This did not, however, exclude such pieces, as were only in the



second or third class. The best had not always the preference; for what times have been exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? *Ælian* is very angry with the judges, who, in one of these disputes gave only the second place to *Euripides*. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of suffering themselves to be bribed. - It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation which these disputes and public rewards excited among the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the persons themselves, speaking and acting upon the stage: in the epic, on the contrary, the poet only relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons and whole nations are interested; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being the confidants of their most secret sentiments, and auditors and spectators of their resolutions, enterprizes, and the happy or unhappy events attending them. To read and see an action, are quite different things; we are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we merely read. Our eyes as well as our minds, are addressed at the same time. The spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were always the chief characters in it; and not from the satire, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the gravity and solemnity of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the *Cyclops* of *Euripides*.

I shall confine myself upon this head to tragedy and comedy; both which had their origin amongst the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were for a long time comprised under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees such improvements, as at length raised them to their highest perfection.

#### THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF TRAGEDY.

There had been many tragic and comic poets before *Thespis*; but as they had made no alterations in the original rude form of this poem, and as *Thespis* was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in praise of *Bacchus*; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

La tragédie, informe et grossière en naissant,  
N'étoit qu'un simple chœur. où chacun en dansant,  
Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges,  
S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.  
Là, le vin et la joie éveillant les esprits,  
Du plus habile chanteur un bouc étoit le prix.

Fornless and gross did tragedy arise,  
A simple chorus, rather mad than wise;  
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng  
Roared to the god of grapes a drunken song;  
Wild mirth and wine sustain'd the frantick note,  
And the best singer had the prize, a goat.

*Thespis* made several alterations in it, which *Horace* describes after *Aristotle*, in his *Art of Poetry*. The first was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they used to sing in the streets, wherever chance led

them. Another was to have their faces smeared over with white-lee, instead of acting without disguise, as at first. He also introduced a character among the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person; which recital, at length, gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

Thespis fut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie,  
Promena par les bourgs cette heureuse folie,  
Et d'acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,  
Amusa les passans d'un spectacle nouveau.

First Thespis, smeared with lees, and void of art,  
The grateful folly vented from a cart;  
And as his tawdry actors drove about,  
The sight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.

Thespis lived in the time of Solon.—[A. M. 8440. Ant. J. C. 564.]—That wise legislator, upon seeing his pieces performed, expressed his dislike, by striking his staff against the ground; apprehending that these poetical fictions, and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations, would soon become matters of importance, and have too great a share in all public and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Thespis made in tragedy, gave room for Æschylus to make new and more considerable of his own.—[A. M. 3164. Ant. J. C. 540.]—He was born at Athens, in the first year of the sixtieth Olympiad. He took upon him the profession of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, where he did his duty.—[A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.]—But his disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon entering into another course, where no less glory was to be acquired; and where he was soon without any competitors. As a superior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in consequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a dissertation which abounds with wit and good sense, explains the manner in which Æschylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. The poet himself used to say, that his works were the remnants of the feasts given by Homer in the Iliad and Odyssey.

Tragedy, therefore, took a new form under him. He gave masks to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart, he erected a theatre of a moderate elevation, and entirely changed their style; which from being merry and burlesque, as at first, became majestic and serious.

Eschyle dans le chœur jetta les personnages:  
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages:  
Sur les ais d'un théâtre en public exhaussé  
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chaussé.

From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace;  
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,  
Taught him in buskins first to treat the stage,  
And raised a theatre to please the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its soul, which was the most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the stronger passions, especially of terror and pity, which, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a subject, great, noble, interesting, and contained within due bounds by the unity of time, place, and action: in short, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues holds the mind of the spectator in

suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before *Æschylus*, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was then called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed either in giving useful advice and salutary instructions, in espousing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depository of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or in sustaining all those characters at the same time, according to *Horace*. The *Coryphæus*, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of *Æschylus's* pieces, called the *Eumenides*, the poet represents *Orestes* at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the *Furies*, laid asleep by *Apollo*. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died of the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to fifteen by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed, that one of the alterations made by *Æschylus* in tragedy, was the mask worn by his actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments used by women in their head-dresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. The subject is treated at large in a dissertation of *M. Boiudin's*, inserted in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.* (vol. iv.)

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere, in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably deadening the spirit of the action, which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according as it is put in motion by different passions sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes inflames it with the heat of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imagined and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this energetic language, and of that life and soul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at *Cicero's* remark upon the action of *Roscius*. 'Our ancestors,' says he, 'were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even *Roscius* himself, whilst he performed in a mask.'

*Æschylus* was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was *Sophocles*.—[A. M. 3509. Ant. J. C. 495.]—He was born at *Colonos*, a town in *Attica*, in the second year of the seventy-first Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a masterpiece. When, upon the occasion of *Cimon's* having found the bones of *Theseus*, and their being brought to *Athens*, a dispute between the tragic poets was appointed, *Sophocles* entered the lists with *Æschylus*, and carried the prize against him.—[A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470.]—The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all lost by failing of the last, and withdrew in disgust into *Sicily* to king *Hiero*, the protector and patron of all the learned in disgrace at *Athens*. He died there soon after in a very singular manner, if we may believe *Suidas*. As he lay asleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle, taking his bald crown for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy tragedies, composed by him, only seven are now extant.

Nor have those of *Sophocles* escaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and seventeen in number, and according to some one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age all the force and vigour of his



genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history, His children, unworthy of so great a father, upon pretence that he had lost his senses, summoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his estate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called *Œdipus at Colonos*, with which the judges were so charmed, that he carried his cause unanimously; and his children, detested by the whole assembly, got nothing by their suit, but the shame and infamy due to so flagrant ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some say he expired in repeating his *Antigone*, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end; others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectation. The figure of a hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of Bee, which had been given him, from the sweetness of his verses: whence it is probable, the notion was derived of the bees having settled upon his lips, when in his cradle. He died in his ninetyeth year, [A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405.] the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad, after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, [A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 430.] at Salamis, whither his father Mnesarchus and his mother Clito had retired when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and, amongst others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama, unknown to him at first; and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the great masters of whom we have been speaking. His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality: and it is in that view that Socrates in his time, and Cicero long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides. One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprising to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reproved whatever seemed inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having a well-founded excuse, as he had given such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions. Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought: 'Riches are the supreme good of the human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men.' The whole theatre cried out against these expressions; and he would have been banished directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respite till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

He was in danger of incurring serious inconveniences from an answer he puts into the mouth of Hippolytus. Phædra's nurse represented to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. 'My tongue, it is true, pronounced that oath,' replied he, 'but my heart gave no consent to it.' This frivolous distinction appeared to the whole people, as an express contempt of the religion and sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and good faith from society and the intercourse of life.

Another maxim advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the *Phœnicians*, and which Cæsar had always in his mouth, is no less pernicious: 'If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects, let it be duly revered.' It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a false maxim; and it is not strange that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should lay great stress upon the sentiments of a prince whom he so much resembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his



falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced so pernicious a principle upon the stage.

Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the spirit of the tragic poets, caused three statues of brass to be erected, in the name of the people, to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved amongst the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects, no doubt, after what has been said relating to the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should point out the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poem, that is to say Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets; and having demonstrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end; he goes on to describe the three poets above mentioned, in the most lively and brilliant colours.

Tragedy took at first from Æschylus, its inventor, a much more lofty style than the *Iliad*; that is the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æschylus, who had a full conception of the grandeur of the language of tragedy, carried it too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but something more. His pompous, swelling, gigantic diction, resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the noble harmony of the trumpets. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not permit him to speak the language of other men, so that his Muse seemed rather to walk in stilts, than in the buskins of their own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellence of the dramatic style: he therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated the Bee, with a gravity that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar; and he seems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says father Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress, and rapidity in his flight; and, as Racine, in copying the ancients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again with an elegance of motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular characteristic and method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices; the second resembles a canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his silver wave through flowery meads and rural scenes.

This is the character which father Brumoi gives of the three poets, to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each perfect in their way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to decide which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day with respect to the two poets of our own nation (Corneille and Racine), whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens. I have observed, that the tender and pathetic distinguishes the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the most cruel of tyrants, was

a proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play; professing that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hecuba and Andromache, who had never shown the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers. When I speak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be understood to mean a passion that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost alone, or at least more than any other passion, received upon our stage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste for the sciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions amongst the ancients, were terror and pity. And indeed, as we naturally refer every thing to ourselves, or our own particular interest, when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and from a secret impulse of self-love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others; besides which, the sharing a common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befalls them. Upon a close and attentive enquiry into those two passions, they will be found the most deeply inherent, active, extensive, and general affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, with reason conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation amongst them, and had seldom any share in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it. It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this passion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got such footing upon our stage. Corneille, who was the first who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured with the perusal of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. For the desire of pleasing his audience, who were at the same time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accustomed to be affected; and, by introducing love in his scenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taste of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obscured; so contrary to probability, which will not admit such a number of extraordinary and surprising events in the short space of four-and-twenty hours; so contrary to the simplicity of ancient tragedy; and so adapted to conceal, by the assemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvellous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambic to the heroic verse in their tragedies; not only because the first has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but, whilst it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear; and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in representations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection on this subject. He says, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, pastoral, satire, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of versification. This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which consequently is obliged to lose sight of nature and probability, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the most impetuous passions in an uniform cadence, and by hemistichs and rhymes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expression, and the spirit of sentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the resistless force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and spread a veil before

our judgment. It was not chance, therefore, which suggested to the Greeks the use of iambs in their tragedy. Nature itself seems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide, they made choice of a different versification for the chorus, better adapted to the motions of the dance, and the variations of the song; because it was necessary for poetry here to shine out in all its lustre, whilst the mere conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an embellishment of the representation, and a relaxation to the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to support it, when united with music and dancing.

## OF THE OLD, MIDDLE, AND NEW COMEDY.

Whilst tragedy was thus rising to perfection at Athens, comedy, the second species of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are sensibly affected with the dangers, distresses, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons; and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals; which supply us with occasions of laughing, and being merry at the expense of others. Hence comedy derives itself; which is properly an image of private life. Its design is to expose defects and vices upon the stage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and consequently, to instruct by diverting. Ridicule, therefore, (or to express the same word by another, Pleasantry,) ought to prevail in comedy.

This species of entertainment took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government, which occasioned various alterations in it. The old comedy, so called by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of throwing out coarse jests, and reviling the spectators from the cart of Thespis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reserved. It represented real transactions with the names, dress, gestures, and likeness, in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to sacrifice to the public derision. In a state where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, singularity, or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people upon their most important interests. No one was spared in a city of so much liberty, or rather licentiousness, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods were abandoned to the poet's satirical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the attic salt not wanting.

In one of these comedies, not only the priest of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because no more sacrifices are offered to the god; but Mercury himself comes, in a starving condition, to seek his fortune amongst mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, sutler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in short, in any capacity, rather than return to heaven. In another, the same gods, reduced to the extremity of famine, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter, to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon such conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well stored with excellent game of all sorts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit, and assist the cook upon occasion. The other pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satirical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprised at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, as from them he had nothing to fear; but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful



persons of Athens upon the stage, and presuming to attack the government itself, without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the son of a tanner, and a tanner himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and impudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy, without being awed by his power and influence: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared for the first time upon the stage in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent it, nor to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine-lees; because no workman could be found, that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece he reproached him with embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, whom he covertly designates, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the government of the state, and the command of their armies. He tells them plainly, that when peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

In his comedy called the *Wasps*, imitated by Racine in his *Plaideurs*, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet, concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition to Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a thorough disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years' duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lysistrata*. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates how, during the war, the women enquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to mind their own business: that, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined: that they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the sad consequences of their rash determinations, but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: that at length, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and advisable to take the government upon themselves, and preserve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madness of its resolves. 'For her part, she declares, that she has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order (says she) to prevent Pisander and his confederates, the four hundred administrators from exciting troubles, according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual.' (Was ever any thing so bold?) She goes on to prove, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burlesque argument; that admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads,



were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, patience, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to those of the women, who are only represented in a ridiculous light, to turn the derision upon their husbands, who were engaged in the administration of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper to give an insight into that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was, as we see, a satire of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independency from respect to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and uncurbed a liberty. It might, he says, have been tolerable, had it attacked only bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in the state, such as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus; but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority (he might have added, and a Socrates, declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus or Nævius had attacked the Scipios, or Cæcilius had dared to revile Marcus Cato in his plays.

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born and live under a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licentiousness. But without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which is certainly inexcusable, I think, to judge properly of it, it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of birth, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. It is a known story, that in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first enquiry was after a certain comic poet (meaning Aristophanes) that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him. Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes did afterwards in the public assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. In his comedies he uttered the same sentiments as he had a right to deliver from the public rostrum. They were addressed to the same people, upon the same occasions of the state, the same means of success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing upon it themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; on which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to decide upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies or enemies. Hence rose the liberty taken by the comic poets, of discussing affairs of the state in their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three poets particularly excelled in the old comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last is the only one of them whose pieces have come down to us entire; and out of the great number which he composed, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war, he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as censor of the government, retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or, in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for which Aristophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was railery. None ever touched what was ridiculous in the characters whom he wished to expose with such success, or knew better how to convey it in all its full force to

others. But it would be necessary to have lived in his times, to be qualified to judge of this. The subtle salt and spirit of the ancient raillery, according to father Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and insipid to us; though the sharpest part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two considerable defects are justly imputed to this poet, which very much obscure, if not entirely efface, his glory. These are, low buffoonery and gross obscenity; and it has in vain been attempted to offer, in excuse for the first of these faults, the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally consisted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as necessary to please as the learned and the rich. The depraved taste of the lower order of the people, which once banished Cratinus and his company, because his scenes were not grossly comic enough for them is no excuse for Aristophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that grovelling taste, by introducing a species of comedy, not altogether so modest as Plutarch seems to insinuate, yet much less licentious than any before his time.

The gross obscenities with which all Aristophanes's comedies abound have no excuse; they only denote to what a pitch the libertinism of the spectators, and the depravity of the poet, had proceeded. Had he even impregnated them with the utmost wit, which however is not the case, the privilege of laughing himself, or of making others laugh, would have been too dearly purchased at the expense of decency and good manners. And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit at all, than to make so ill a use of it. F. Brumoi is very much to be commended for having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of Scholar to that of Christian.

The old comedy subsisted till Lysander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satirical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and confirms the reflection made before upon the privilege which the poets possess of criticising with impunity the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then invested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired; the right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they, either in their own persons or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments and conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited; but poetical ill-nature soon found the secret of eluding the intention of the law, and of making itself amends for the restraint which was imposed upon it by the necessity of using feigned names. It then applied itself to discover what was ridiculous in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more refined manner: the one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators upon guessing their meaning, and the other of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy, since called the Middle Comedy, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, caused a check to be put upon the licentiousness of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the New Comedy took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage but feigned names, and fictitious adventures.

Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir,  
S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.

L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidèle  
 D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modèle ;  
 Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé,  
 Méconnut le portrait sur lui-même formé.

In this new glass, whilst each himself survey'd  
 He sat with pleasure, though himself was play'd ;  
 The miser grinn'd whilst avarice was drawn,  
 Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own ;  
 His own dear self no imaged fool could find,  
 But saw a thousand other fops design'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty plays, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remain only a few fragments. We may form a judgment of the merits of the originals from the excellence of the copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the fame of all other writers in the same way. He observes, in another passage, that his own times were not so just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others ; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet, who flourished about the same period, though older than Menander, was preferred before him.

#### THE THEATRE OF THE ANCIENTS DESCRIBED.

I have already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks, the seats in which rose one above another ; but those having one day broke down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatic representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendor by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman as the Athenian theatres : and is extracted entirely from M. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients, who has treated the subject in its fullest extent.

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts ; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage ; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent, as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons : and the orchestra, which amongst the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within the semicircle, was allotted to the spectators, and had seats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part in the front of it was appropriated to the actors ; and in the interval, between both, was the orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raised one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the seats. From the highest of those porticoes the women saw the representation, sheltered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open air. Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and served as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only seven to sit upon, and consequently in each story there were seven rows of seats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth ; so that the spectators had room to sit at their ease, and without being incommoded by the legs of the people above them, no foot-boards being provided for them.



Each of these stories of benches were divided in two different manners ; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Præcinctiones*, and in their circumferences by several stair-cases, peculiar to each story, which intersecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of seats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the seats. Those openings were called *Vomitoria*, from the multitude of people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre, in such a manner as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinctness. The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word that signifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations. The second was named *θυμέλη*, from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed. And in the third the Greeks disposed their band of music. They called it *υποκρήνιον*, from its being situate at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, to which they gave the general name of the scene. I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scene ; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scene, and gave its name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary. The second, called by the Greeks indifferently *προσκήνιον*, and *λογεῖον*, and by the Romans *Proscenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which by the help of the decorations, represented either a public square or forum, a common street, or the country ; but the place so represented was always in the open air. The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks *παρὰσκήνιον*. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines, of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from the heat of the sun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an assembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain ; conveying the water for that use above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores concealed in the statues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around, but the most fragrant exhalations along with it : for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the porticoes behind the seats of the theatre.

The fondness of the Athenians for representations of this kind cannot be expressed. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding, all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public ; whether pure chance occasioned the application, or the address of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most



remote subjects with the transactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the interests of the people, took occasion to soothe their passions, authorize their pretensions, justify, and sometimes condemn, their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty in certain nice conjunctures; in consequence of which they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and counsels: hence the theatre became so grateful, and so interesting to the people. It was in this manner, according to some authors, that Euripides artfully adapted his tragedy of *Palamedes*\* to the sentence passed against Socrates; and pointed out, by an illustrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by malignity supported by power and faction. Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which from their appositeness were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse of *Æschylus*, in praise of *Amphiaraus*,

———'Tis his desire  
Not to appear, but be the great and good,

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to *Aristides*. The same thing happened to *Philopœmen* at the *Nemæan* games. At the instant he entered the theatre, these verses were singing upon the stage:

———He comes, to whom we owe  
Our liberty, the noblest good below.

All the Greeks cast their eyes upon *Philopœmen*, and with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expressed their veneration for the hero. In the same manner at Rome, during the banishment of *Cicero*, when some verses of *Accius*, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of *Telamon*, were repeated by *Æsop*, the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly. Upon another, though very different occasion, the Roman people applied to *Pompey the Great* some verses to this effect:

'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great;  
and then addressing the people;  
The time shall come when you shall late deplore  
So great a power confided to such hands;

the spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times.\*

#### FONDNESS FOR THEATRICAL REPRESENTATIONS A PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE DECLINE, DEGENERACY, AND CORRUPTION OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

When we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the later ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner reduced it to slavery, we shall be surprised at the strange alteration in that republic. But what is most material, is the investigation of the causes and progress of this declension: and these *M. de Tourreil* has discussed in an admirable manner in the elegant preface to his translation of *Demosthenes's* orations.

There were no longer, he observes, at Athens, any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good and retrieving bad success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent loftiness, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned the abject wretch to death that proposed to appease the great king by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost entirely extinguished that of glory, liberty, and independence.

\* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posterior to the death of Socrates.

Pericles, that great man, so absolute, that those who envied him treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained that upon such days as games or sacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli should be distributed amongst them: and that in the assemblies in which affairs of state were to be discussed, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of being present. Thus the members of the republic were seen for the first time to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank amongst servile employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end: and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of the war, and to make it a capital crime to advise, upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses; but notwithstanding the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, whilst the citizen, who was supported at the public expense, endeavoured to deserve it by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to serve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deserter without distinction: but at length the number of the transgressors carried it against the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accustomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feasts and games were perpetually taking place, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born men.

It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an unactive, useless life. Hence arose principally their fondness, or rather frenzy, for public shows. The death of Epaminondas, which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. 'Their courage, says Justin, 'did not survive that illustrious Theban. Freed from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they sunk into a lethargic sloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and sea were soon lavished upon games and feasts. The seaman's and soldier's pay was distributed to the idle citizen. An indolent and luxurious mode of life enervated every breast. The representations of the theatre were preferred to the exercises of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely disregarded. Great captains were in no estimation; whilst good poets and excellent comedians engrossed the universal applause.'

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expense was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the service of the theatre. 'If,' says Plutarch, 'an accurate calculation were to be made what each representation of the dramatic pieces cost the Athenians, it would appear, that their expenses in playing the Bacchanaliaus, the Phœnicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea, and Electra, (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides,) were greater than those which had been employed against the Barbarians in defence of the liberty, and for the preservation of Greece.' This gave a Spartan just reason to exclaim, on seeing an estimate of the enormous sums laid out in these contests of the tragic poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magistrates who presided in them, 'that a people must be void of sense to apply themselves in so warm and serious a manner to things so frivolous. For,' added he, 'games should be only games; and nothing is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind agree only with public rejoicings and seasons of festivity, and were designed to divert people at their leisure hours, but should by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor the necessary expenses of the government.' After all, says Plutarch, in the passage which I have already cited, of what utility have these tragedies been to Athens, though so much boasted by the people, and admired by the rest of the world? I find that the prudence of Themistocles enclosed the city with strong walls; that the fine taste and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece. If the wise and

learned poetry of Euripides, the sublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buskin of Æschylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I am willing (he goes on) that dramatic pieces should be placed in competition with trophies of victory, the poetic theatre with the field of battle, and the compositions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals. But what a comparison would this be? On the one side would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims assigned them for excelling in tragic poetry: on the other, a train of illustrious captains, surrounded by the colonies which they founded, the cities which they captured, and the nations which they subjected. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamis, Eurymedon, and many others, that so many feasts are celebrated every month with such pomp by the Grecians.

The inference which Plutarch draws from hence, in which we ought to agree with him, is, that it was the highest imprudence in the Athenians thus to prefer pleasure to duty, fondness for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial shows to application to public business, and to consume, in useless expenses and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, instructed by the Greeks themselves, amongst whom he had for several years applied himself successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

I am now to open an entirely new scene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curiosity and attention. We have seen two states of no great consideration, Media and Persia, extend themselves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent or a conflagration; and, with amazing rapidity, conquer and subdue many provinces and kingdoms. We shall see now that vast empire setting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Persians, Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others; and falling, with all the forces of Asia and the East upon a little country, of very small extent, and destitute of all foreign assistance; I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold so many nations united together, such preparations of war made for several years with so much diligence; innumerable armies by sea and land, and such fleets as the sea could hardly contain; and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almost entirely to themselves; have we not reason to believe, that these two little cities are going to be utterly destroyed and swallowed up by so formidable an enemy; and that no foot-steps of them will be left remaining? And yet we shall find that they will prove victorious; and by their invincible courage, and the several battles they gain, both by sea and land, will make the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever again turning their arms against Greece.

The history of the war between the Persians and Greeks will illustrate the truth of this maxim, that it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the success of military expeditions. The reader will admire the surprising courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion against them could deject, nor the greatest misfortunes disconcert; who undertook, with an handful of men, to make head against innumerable armies; who, notwithstanding such a prodigious inequality of forces, dared to hope for success; who even compelled victory to declare on the side of merit and virtue; and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources are to be found in prudence, valour, and inexperience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty; and in all the sentiments of noble and generous souls.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by another amongst the Greeks themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence and seemingly unworthy of a reader's curiosity



who is fond of great events : In this he will meet with little besides private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths ; some inconsiderable sieges (excepting that of Syracuse, one of the most important related in ancient history), though several of these sieges were of no short duration ; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it then, that has rendered these wars so famous in history ? Sallust informs us in these words :—‘The actions of the Athenians doubtless were great ; and yet I believe they were of somewhat less than fame will have us conceive of them. But because Athens abounded in noble writers, the acts of that republic are celebrated throughout the whole world as most glorious ; and the gallantry of those heroes who performed them, has had the good fortune to be thought as transcendent as the eloquence of those who have described them.’

Sallust, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a series of distinguished actions, with which their history abounds, yet does justice in this passage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illustrious, though somewhat inferior, in his opinion, to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed lustre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their historians ? It is, that the whole universe agrees in looking upon them as the greatest and most glorious that ever were performed : ‘*Per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur.*’ All nations, seduced and enchanted as it were with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people’s exploits superior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Sallust, is the service which the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of describing their actions ; and very unhappy it is for us, that our history, for want of similar assistance, has left a thousand brilliant actions and fine sayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the strongest light by the writers of antiquity, and have done great honour to our country.

But be this as it may, it must be confessed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the persons who shared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in such sieges and engagements as we find recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conspicuous. Accordingly, it is observed, that it was chiefly at the head of small armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our best generals of the last age displayed their great capacity, and showed themselves not inferior to the most celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this sort chance has no share, and does not cover any oversights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the soul of the forces, which neither act nor move but by his direction. He sees every thing, and is present every where. Nothing escapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are seasonably given, and seasonably executed. Contrivances, stratagems, false marches, real or feigned attacks, encampments, decampments ; in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account, the reading of the Greek historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite service to young officers ; because those historians, who were also excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the events which they relate, and lead the readers, as it were, by the hand, through all the sieges and battles they describe ; showing them by the example of the greatest generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on. Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian history affords us such excellent models. We shall there find celebrated legislators, able politicians, magistrates born for government, men that have excelled in all arts and sciences, philosophers that carried their enquiries as far as was possible in those early ages, and who have left us such maxims of morality, as might put many Christians to the blush.

If the virtues of those who are celebrated in history may serve us for models in the conduct of our lives ; their vices and fallings, on the other hand, are no less proper to caution and instruct us : and the strict regard, which an historian is obliged to pay to truth, will not allow him to dissemi-



ble the latter, through fear of eclipsing the lustre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch, on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires, that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light; but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprise, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs, considering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes that proceed from any corruption of the heart: such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly: in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor think himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed nor disguised on any pretence; nor can we suppose, that the same privilege should be allowed in history as in painting, which invented the profile, to represent the side face of a prince who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity. History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, as indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the public, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite a horror for vice, than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inspire us with the love of virtue. And these, according to Tacitus, are the two ends which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that public homage to be paid to virtue which is justly due to it, and to create the greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.

The history which I am writing furnishes but too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear, by what is said of their kings, that those princes whose power has no other bounds than those of their will, often abandon themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the illusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that even after having begun their career favourably, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider, that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and restraints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise and doubly strong, in order to set bounds within, by their reason, to a power that has none without.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will show the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses into which they were led by their thirst of dominion; scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will show, how scandalously the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debased themselves to the Barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them: how shamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their past labours and exploits, by stooping and making their court to haughty and insolent satrapæ, and by going successively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had so often conquered; and in what manner they employed the succours they obtained from them, in oppressing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjust and violent methods.

On both sides and sometimes in the same person, we shall find a surpris-

ing mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean sentiments; and sometimes perhaps, we shall be ready to ask ourselves, whether these can be the same persons and the same people, of whom such different things are related; and whether it be possible, that such a bright and shining light, and such thick clouds of smoke and darkness, can proceed from the same source?

The Persian history includes the space of one hundred and seventeen years, during the reigns of six kings of Persia: Darius, the first of the name, the son of Hystaspes; Xerxes the first; Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus; Xerxes the second; Sogdianus (these two last reigned but a very little time); and Darius the second, commonly called Darius Nothus. This history begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itself into two parts, I shall also divide it into two distinct books.

The first part, which consists of ninety years, extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first, to the forty-second year of Artaxerxes, the same year in which the Peloponnesian war began; that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprises and expeditions of the Persians against Greece, which never produced more great men and great events, nor ever displayed more conspicuous or more solid virtues. Here will be seen the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, Platææ, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the most eminent commanders of Greece signalized their courage; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pausanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c. To enable the reader the more easily to recollect what passed within this space of time among the Jews, and also among the Romans, the history of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Persians and Greeks, I shall here set down in few words the principal epochs relating to them.

#### EPOCHAS OF THE JEWISH HISTORY.

The people of God were at this time returned from their Babylonish captivity to Jerusalem, under the conduct of Zerobabel. Usher is of opinion that the history of Esther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Israelites, under the shadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the earnest exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zachariah, did at last finish the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no less favourable to the Jews than Darius: he first of all sent Ezra to Jerusalem, who restored the public worship, and the observation of the law; then Nehemiah, who caused walls to be built round the city, and fortified it against the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatness. It is thought that Malachi, the last of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he prophesied not long after him.

This interval of the sacred history extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus; that is to say, from the year of the world 3485, to the year 3581. After which the Scripture is entirely silent, till the time of the Maccabees.

#### EPOCHAS OF THE ROMAN HISTORY.

The first year of Darius I. was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years afterwards was expelled, when the consular government was substituted to that of the kings. In the succeeding part of this period happened the war against Porsenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volsci, and the war that ensued thereupon; the wars of the Romans against the Latins, the Veientes, the Volsci, and other neighbouring nations; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military tribunes instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

The second part, which consists of twenty-seven years, extends from the 43d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nothus; that

is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It contains the first nineteen years of the Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the Barbarians, turned their arms against each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner.

Rome continues to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and the people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Veji, which lasted ten years. I have already observed, that eighty years after the taking of Troy, [A. M. 2900. Ant. J. C. 1104.] the Heraclidæ, that is, the descendants of Hercules, returned into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together. Herodotus observes, that these two brothers were, during their whole lives, at variance; and that almost all their descendants inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy: so true it is, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the sceptre jointly; and what is very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus, to the death of Cleomenes, and supplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular succession from father to son, especially in the elder branch of the family.

#### THE ORIGIN AND CONDITION OF THE ELOTÆ, OR HELOTS.

When the Lacedæmonians first began to settle in Peloponnesus, they met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to subdue one after another by force of arms, or received into their alliance on easy and equitable terms, with the imposition of a small tribute. Strabo speaks of a city called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having submitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly, and refused to pay the tribute. Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, newly settled in the throne, was sensible of the dangerous tendency of this first revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army against them, together with Sous, his colleague. They laid siege to the city, which, after a pretty long resistance, was forced to surrender at discretion. This prince thought it proper to make such an example of them as should intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reason he put none to death. He spared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the same time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a state of slavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and servile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. These were the people who were called ELOTÆ, or Helots. The number of them exceedingly increased in process of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the same name to all the people whom they reduced to the same condition of servitude. As they themselves were averse to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to these slaves, assigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, the produce of which they were obliged to carry every year to their respective masters, who endeavoured by all sorts of ill usage, to make their yoke more grievous and insupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vast number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the state, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occasion. The Romans acted more prudently; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their state, by associating them into the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them from enemies into brethren and fellow-citizens.

#### LYCURGUS, THE LACEDÆMONIAN LAWGIVER.

Eurytion, or Eurypon, as he is named by others, succeeded Sous. In order to gain the affection of his people, and render his government agree-



able, he thought fit to recede in some points from the absolute power exercised by the kings his predecessors: this rendered his name so dear to his subjects, that all his descendants were, from him, called Eurytionidæ. But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confusion, and an unbounded licentiousness in Sparta, and for a long time occasioned infinite mischiefs. The people became so insolent, that nothing could restrain them. If Eurytion's successors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if, through complaisance or weakness, they chose to dissemble, their mildness served only to render them contemptible; so that order in a manner was abolished, and the laws no longer regarded. These confusions hastened the death of Lycurgus's father, whose name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an insurrection. Polydectes, his eldest son and successor, dying soon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was so in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as soon as that was manifest, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her child, in case it proved a son: and from that moment he took upon himself the administration of the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicos, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cried out to the company that was present, 'Behold, my lords of Sparta, your new-born king!' and at the same time, he put the infant into the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people expressed upon occasion of his birth. The reader will find, in the first volume of this history, all that relates to the history of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he established in Sparta. Agesilaus was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

#### WAR BETWEEN THE ARGIVES AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

Some time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two states, and to which each of them pretended a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men chosen from their respective armies; and that the land in question should become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to some distance. Those generous champions then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the side of the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot; and only the night parted them. The two Argives, looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what haste they could to Argos to carry the news; the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring, stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his post. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both sides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argives because they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians because the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their single soldier had remained master of the field of battle, and had carried off the spoils of the enemy: in short they could not determine the dispute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of surviving his brave companions, or of enduring the sight of Sparta after their death, killed himself on the same field of battle where they had fought, resolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

#### WARS BETWEEN THE MESSENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

There were no less than three several wars between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Messenia was a coun-



try in Peloponnesus, towards the west, and not far from Sparta: it was of considerable strength, and was governed by its own kings.

#### THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

[A. M. 3261. Ant. J. C. 743.]—The first Messenian war lasted twenty years, and broke out the second year of the ninth Olympiad. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received several considerable injuries from the Messenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters ravished by the inhabitants of Messenia, when they went, according to custom, to a temple that stood on the borders of the two nations; as also that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a consequence of the former outrage. Probably a desire of extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But be that as it may, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of Archons at Athens was still dennial.

Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia. He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Amphea, a small, inconsiderable city, which, however, they thought would suit them very well, as a place for military stores. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. This first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themselves with vigour. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, nor to return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians: so much did they rely upon their strength and valour.

Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was nearly equal on both sides. But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion in their troops, and at last brought a pestilence among them.

Hereupon they consulted the oracle of Delphi, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Messenians then considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon them all, except Ithome, a little place seated on the top of a hill of the same name, about which they encamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but slight skirmishes on both sides, the Lacedæmonians not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed, they almost despaired of being able to reduce them: nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themselves, that made them continue so burthensome a war. What gave them the greatest uneasiness, was, their apprehension, lest their absence from their wives for so many years, an absence which might still continue many more, should destroy their families at home, and leave Sparta destitute of citizens. To prevent this misfortune, they sent home such of their soldiers as were come to the army since the forementioned oath had been taken, and made no scruple of prostituting their wives to their embraces. The children that sprung from this unlawful intercourse, were called Partheniæ, a name given them to denote the infamy of their birth. As soon as they were grown up, not being able to endure such an opprobrious distinction, they banished themselves from Sparta with one consent, and under the conduct of Phalantus, went and settled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.

At last, in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithome. Euphaes's pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, several of which were mortal. He fell, and seemed to give up the ghost. Whereupon, wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both sides; by the one to carry off the king; by the other to save him. Cleonnis killed

eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and spoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the custody of some of his soldiers. He himself received several wounds, all in the fore part of his body, which was a certain proof that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Aristomenes, fighting on the same occasion, and for the same end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whose spoils he likewise carried off, without receiving any wound. In short, the king was saved and carried off by the Messenians; and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expressed great joy that he had not been worsted. Aristomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reason of his wounds, could neither walk by himself, nor with the assistance of those that lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his shoulders, without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp. As soon as they had applied the first dressing to the wounds of the king of Messenia and of his officers, there arose a new contention among the Messenians, that was pursued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the consequence of the other. The affair in question was, the adjudging the prize of glory to him that had signalized his valour most in the late engagement. It was a custom among them, which had long been established, publicly to proclaim, after a battle, the name of the man that had showed the greatest courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and soldiers, to inspire them with resolution and intrepidity, and to stifle the natural apprehension of death and danger. Two illustrious champions entered the lists on this occasion, namely, Cleonnis and Aristomenes.

The king, notwithstanding his weak condition, attended by the principal officers of his army, presided in the council, where this important dispute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cause. Cleonnis founded his pretensions upon the great number of the enemies he had slain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were so many undoubted testimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas the condition in which Aristomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, seemed to show, that he had been very careful of his own person, or at most could only prove that he had been more fortunate, but not more brave or courageous, than himself. And as to his having carried him on his shoulders into the camp, that action indeed might serve to prove the strength of his body, but nothing further; and the thing in dispute at this time, says he, is not strength but valour.

The only thing Aristomenes was reproached for, was, his not being wounded; therefore he confined himself to that point. 'I am,' says he, 'called fortunate, because I have escaped from the battle without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I should deserve another epithet than that of fortunate; and instead of being admitted to dispute the prize, ought to undergo the rigour of the laws that punish cowards. But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greatest glory. For, if my enemies, astonished at my valour, durst not venture to attack or oppose me, it is no small degree of merit that I made them fear me; or if, whilst they engaged me, I had at the same time strength to cut them in pieces, and skill to guard against their attacks, I must then have been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midst of an engagement, can expose himself to dangers with caution and security, shows, that he excels at the same time both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleonnis with any want of it; but for his honour's sake, I am sorry that he should appear to want gratitude.'

After the conclusion of these harangues, the question was put to the vote. The whole army is in suspense, and impatiently waits for the decision. No dispute could be so warm and interesting as this. It is not a competition for gold or silver, but solely for honour. The proper reward of virtue is pure disinterested glory. Here the judges are unsuspected. The actions of the competitors still speak for them. It is the king himself, surrounded with his officers, who presides and adjudges. A whole army are the witnesses. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In short, all the votes concurred in favour of Aristomenes, and adjudged him

the prize. Euphaes died not many days after the decision of this affair. He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time had been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Messenians at liberty to choose his successor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in opposition to Aristomenes; but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not scruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the state: all strongly attached to the public good, even more than to their own glory; competitors, but not enemies; these great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adversaries to one another, but for its preservation. In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monsieur Boivin the elder, and have made use of his learned dissertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus which the world was little acquainted with. He supposes, and proves in it, that the king spoken of in that fragment is Euphaes; and that Aristomenes is the same that Pausanias calls Aristodemus, according to the custom of the ancients, who were often called by two different names. Aristomenes, otherwise called Aristodemus, reigned near seven years, and was equally esteemed and beloved by his subjects. The war still continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and, in honour of Jupiter Ithome, sacrificed three hundred of them, among whom their king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Aristodemus sacrificed himself upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the answer of an oracle. Damis was his successor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

After his death, the Messenians never had any success in their affairs, but found themselves in a very wretched and hopeless condition. Being reduced to the last extremity, and utterly destitute of provisions, they abandoned Ithome, and fled to such of their allies as were nearest to them. The city was immediately razed, and the other part of the country submitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forsake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them; a very useless precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them; but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one half of the corn they should reap every harvest. It was likewise stipulated that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend, in mourning, the funerals of the kings the chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. [A. M. 3281. Ant. J. C. 723.]—Thus ended the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.

#### THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

The lenity with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenians at first, was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win those whom they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole weight of subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no justice, treated them with contempt like vile slaves, and committed the most heinous outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himself to servitude: the most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from so cruel a one as that under which the Messenians groaned? After having endured it with great uneasiness near forty years, they resolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty. This was in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad: [A. M. 3320. Ant. J. C. 684.] the office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta.



The Messenians' first care was to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the neighbouring nations. These they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own interests. For it was not without jealousy and apprehensions, that they saw so powerful a city rising up in the midst of them, which manifestly seemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the rest. The people therefore of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Messenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. Aristomenes, the second of that name,\* was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beaten in this engagement. Aristomenes, to give the enemy at first an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the success of future enterprises, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, surnamed Chalcoecus, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying, that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess, out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphic oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at the request. On the one hand, they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from desiring to furnish them with a good general: on the other, they were afraid also of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians Tyrtaeus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his mind, and disagreeable in his person; for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general sent them by Heaven itself. Their success did not at first answer their expectation, for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were absolutely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtaeus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He addressed the troops, and repeated to them some verses he had made with that intention, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wisdom can surmount. He then represented to them, how shameful it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to perish sword in hand, if it was so decreed by fate, in fighting for their country. Then, as if all danger was vanished, and the gods, fully satisfied and appeased with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their side, he set victory before their eyes as present and certain, and as if she herself were inviting them to battle. All the ancient authors, who have made any mention of the style and character of Tyrtaeus's poetry, observe, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthusiasm, that enflamed the minds of men, that exalted them above themselves, that inspired them with something generous and martial, that extinguished all fear and apprehension of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preservation of their country and their own glory.

Tyrtaeus's verses had really this effect on the soldiers upon this occasion. They all desired, with one voice, to march against the enemy. Being become indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to secure themselves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied strings round their

\* According to several historians, there was another Aristomenes in the first Messenian war.—Diod. l. xv. p. 378.

right arms, on which were inscribed their own and their fathers' names, that, if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces so altered through time, or accidents, as not to be distinguishable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by these marks. Soldiers determined to die are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that ensued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time disputed on both sides; but at last the Messenians gave way. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already lasted three years. Aristomenes, having assembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult access, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault, but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and performed the most extraordinary actions of valour. He was at last obliged to quit it, only by surprise and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the Helots. The rest, seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messina; the same place as is called at this day Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of passing on to Sardis, to remain with Ardys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

The second Messenian war was of fourteen years' duration, and ended the first year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad.—[A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.]—There was a third war between these people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at the time, and on the occasion, of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We shall speak of this war in its place.

The history, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander, and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety-three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus. The history will present to our view a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy and perfidy, treason, ingratitude, and flagrant abuses of sovereign power; cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of probity and honour, with the violation of all laws human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars and dreadful revolutions. Men, originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers, and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expense of their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, and sisters, of that prince, to their own ambition; without sparing even those to whom they themselves either owed, or gave life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men and great examples; or, if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid tract, and attract attention only in consequence of the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitted, for being obliged to represent human nature in such colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which cannot fail of inspiring disgust, and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most interesting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation: and

it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excess of inordinate passions, of which he conceives himself incapable. How is it possible to diffuse any interest through a narration, which has nothing to offer but a uniform series of vices and great crimes; and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very name should not be transmitted to posterity? It may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of too successful iniquity; and to be particular in describing the unjust success which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on Providence, by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable, from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death; and to secure to themselves some portion greater or less, of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each individual. Macedonia changed its master five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in so prodigious a variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain: the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connection with each other: nor will it be possible to point out either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose transactions are perhaps the most complicated and perplexed part of ancient history, Usher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my usual guides; and on many occasions I shall only transcribe from Prideaux; but with all these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light upon this history as I could desire.

After a war of more than twenty years, the number of the principal competitors was reduced to four: Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus; the empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel, by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedon, Syria or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the Lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations. As the kingdom of Egypt was that which was subject to the fewest changes, because Ptolemy, who was established there as governor, at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity; we shall therefore consider this prince as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochs shall be fixed from him.

The second volume contains the events for the space of one hundred and twenty years, under the first four kings of Egypt, viz. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty; Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned twenty-five; and Ptolemy Philopator, whose reign continued seventeen.

In order to throw some light upon the history contained therein, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgement. Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped Monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious con-



queror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his ancestors had governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant succession; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued peaceably in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains; and he might have transmitted the sceptre of his progenitors to his own descendants; but as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was instrumental in the destruction of his house, and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the specious names of ambition and glory, spread desolation and carried fire and sword through whole provinces without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that Providence abandon these events to chance; but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations that were to be first enlightened with the Gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece: and the same Providence made it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The Deity, therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great among the generals of that prince, immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself without acknowledging any superior.

It was not till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life, that this partition was fully regulated and fixed. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a solemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coelesyria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia and some other provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of the greater Asia, which extended to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted, almost without any interruption, in the same families, through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

### I. THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

The kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death, those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a peculiar surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. The second and third volumes contain the histories of six of these kings, and I shall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great. Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight years and some months.—A. M. 3680. Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty years, including the two years of his reign in the lifetime of his father.—A. M. 3718. Ptolemy Energetes, twenty-five years.—A. M. 3758. Ptolemy Philopator, seventeen.—A. M. 3783. Ptolemy Epiphanes, twenty-four.—A. M. 3800. Ptolemy Philometor, thirty-four.—A. M. 3824.

## 2 THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.

The kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings; which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short; and indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called the Seleucidae, from Seleucus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last, Antiochus XIII. was surnamed Euphianes, Asiaticus, and Commagenus. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the second and third volumes, are eight in number.

Seleucus Nicator. He reigned twenty years.—A. M. 3704. Antiochus Soter, nineteen.—A. M. 3724. Antiochus Theos, fifteen.—A. M. 3743. Seleucus Callinicus, twenty.—A. M. 3758. Seleucus Ceraunus, three.—A. M. 3778. Antiochus the Great, thirty-six.—A. M. 3781. Seleucus Philopator, twelve.—A. M. 3817. Antiochus Euphianes, brother of Seleucus Philopator, eleven.—A. M. 3829.

## 3. THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA.

Macedonia frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four princes.—A. M. 3707. Cassander died three or four years after that partition, and left three sons. Philip, the eldest, died shortly after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.—A. M. 3710. Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and Lysimachus made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately.—A. M. 3723. After the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.—A. M. 3724. Ptolemy Ceraunus having slain the preceding prince, seized the kingdom, and possessed it but a very short time, having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.—A. M. 3726. Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, reigned but a short time in Macedonia.—A. M. 3728. Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at length obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted it to his descendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.—A. M. 3762. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.—A. M. 3772. Antigonus Doson reigned twelve years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.—A. M. 3784. Philip, after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.—A. M. 3824. His son Perseus succeeded him, and reigned about eleven years. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

## 4. THE KINGDOM OF THRACE AND BITHYNIA, &c.

This fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces very remote from one another, had not any succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lysimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembered, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

Beside the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected into different states, independent of the Greeks, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

## KINGS OF BITHYNIA.

Whilst Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes laid the foundations of the kingdom of Bithynia.—A. M. 3686. It is not

certain who this Zypethes was, unless that Pausanias, from his name, conjectures that he was a Thracian. His successors, however, are better known. Nicomedes I. This prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, with whom he was engaged in a war.—A. M. 3726. Prusias I. Prusias II. surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels, in his war against Eumenes II. king of Pergamus. Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Soerates. Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimonial of his gratitude to them; by which means these territories became a Roman province.

## KINGS OF PERGAMUS.

This kingdom at first comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the Ægean sea, over-against the island of Lesbos. [A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.]—It was founded by Philetærus, an eunuch, who had served under Docimus, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lysimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

[A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263.]—Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle.

[A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.]—He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians; and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

[A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197.]—His successor was Eumenes II. his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his sons, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions considerably, after the victory they obtained over Antiochus the Great.

[A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.]—Attalus II. espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it twenty-one years.

[A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138.]—Attalus III. surnamed Philometer, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extravagant conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

[A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.]—Aristonicus, who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans, but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

## KINGS OF PONTUS.

[A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.]—The kingdom of Pontus in Asia Minor was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said, by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the Magi. Pontus is a region of Asia Minor, situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea (Pontus Euxinus), from which it derives its name. It extends from the river Halys, as far as Colehis. Several princes reigned in that country since Artabazus.

[A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.]—The sixth monarch was Mithridates I. who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

[A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.]—He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon: he reigned twenty-six years.

[A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.]—His successor was Mithridates II. Antigonus suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called Κτιστής or the Founder, and reigned thirty-five years.



[A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.]—Mithridates III. who succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, and reigned thirty-six years. After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates IV. the great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

[A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.]—He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces, who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. After him reigned Mithridates V. surnamed Energetes, the first who was called the friend of the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

[A. M. 3889. Ant. J. C. 124.]—He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupator. This is the great Mithridates who sustained so long a war with the Romans: he reigned sixty-six years.

#### KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

Strabo informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two Satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus: the other tracts constituted Cappadocia properly so called, or Cappadocia Major, which extended along mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.

[A. M. 3682. Ant. J. C. 322.]—When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes, Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain. His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father some time after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of the history. Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did much about the same time.

#### KINGS OF ARMENIA.

Armenia, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians; after which it was transferred, with the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates, king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depending on the one and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

#### KINGS OF EPIRUS.

Epirus is a province of Greece, separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians. The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who established himself in that country: and called themselves *Æacidea*, from *Æacus*, the grandfather of Achilles. The genealogy of the latter kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be doubtful and obscure.

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings; and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depends on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all arts and sciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent school, such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning, and as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip king of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government with Arymbas his elder brother, by the influence of his son-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, *Æacides*, his son, ought to have been his successor; but Philip had still sufficient influence to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander, the son of Neoptolemus, sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians. *Æacides* then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, Deidamia and Troias, and one son, the celebrated Pyrrhus.

As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. Pyrrhus, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre. Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus. Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus: but having afterwards divested him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city Argos, [A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271.] in an attack to make himself master of it. Helenus, his son, reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

#### TYRANTS OF HERACLEA.

Heraclea is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Bœotians, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

When the Athenians, having conquered the Persians, had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution. Lamachus was therefore sent against them, and he ravaged their territories: but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose innate ferocity might naturally have been increased, by the severe treatment they had lately received. But they had recourse to no other vengeance than kindness; they furnished him with provisions and troops for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if at that price they could convert the enmity of the Athenians into friendship. [A. M. 3640 Ant. J. C. 364.]—Sometime after this event, the populace of Heraclea excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens, and senators, who having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaninondas the Theban, were necessitated to recall Clearchus a senator, to their defence, whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators, to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the Tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

[A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.]—Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, assumed his place, and pursued his conduct for the space of fifteen years.

[A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.]—He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius, who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority by Perdiccas; but as this last was soon destroyed, Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus, whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominion by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heraclea. He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, [A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.] after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris.

This princess was rendered happy in her administration, by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her own name; into which she transplanted the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus.

#### KINGS OF SYRACUSE.

[A. M. 3735. Ant. J. C. 269.]—Hiero, and his son Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

[A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.]—Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse. His conduct obliged Marcelles to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year. I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

#### OTHER KINGS.

Several kings likewise reigned in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places: but their history is very uncertain, and their succession have but little regularity. These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman Empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the same period: I shall treat of each in their proper places.



## BOOK THE FIRST.

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THE

# ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

## EGYPTIANS.

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### PART THE FIRST.

**DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT: WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHATEVER IS MOST CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE IN THAT COUNTRY.**

Egypt comprehended anciently, within limits of no very great extent, a prodigious number of cities \* and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the east by the Red Sea and the isthmus of Suez ; on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, through the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is enclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground of not above half a day's journey in length,† and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts: Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part ; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from the seven Nomi or districts it contained: Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks called Delta, and all the country as far as the Red Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Casius. Under Sesostris,‡ all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments or Nomi: ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia ; and in the days of Augustus were the boundaries of the Roman empire : ' *Claustra olim Romani Imperii,*' Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 61.

\* It is related that under Amasis, there were twenty thousand inhabited cities in Egypt. Herod. l. ii. c. 177.

† A day's journey is 24 eastern, or 33 English miles and a quarter.

‡ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 787.

## CHAPTER I.

## THEBAIS.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer,\* are universally known; and acquired it the surname of Hecatompylos, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. Its population† was proportionate to its extent; and, according to history, it could send out at once two hundred chariots and ten thousand fighting men at each of its gates. The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence‡ and grandeur, though they saw it only in its ruins; so august were the remains of this city.

In the Thebaid, now called Said,§ have been discovered temples and palaces which are still almost entire, adorned with innumerable columns and statues. One palace especially is admired, the remains whereof seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve as avenues to four porticos, whose height is amazing to behold. And even they who have given us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it; and are not sure that they saw above half: however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which in all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by a hundred and twenty pillars six fathoms round, of a proportionable height, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had displayed all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amidst the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. Strabo,|| who was on the spot, describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.

The same author¶ describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had seen. It is said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, uttered an articulate sound. And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.



## CHAPTER II.

## MIDDLE EGYPT, OR HEPTANOMIS.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt. In this city were to be seen many stately temples, among them that of the god Apis, who

\* Hom. Il. i. ver. 381. † Strab. l. xvii. p. 816. ‡ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

§ Thevenot's Travels. || Lib. xvii. p. 805. ¶ P. 816.

was honoured here after a particular manner. I shall speak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids which stood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it so famous. Memphis was situated on the west side of the Nile.

Grand Caïro,\* which seems to have succeeded Memphis, is built on the other side of that river. The castle of Caïro is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt. It stands on a hill without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is surrounded with walls of a vast height and solidity. You go up to the castle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is so easy of ascent, that loaded horses and camels get up without difficulty. The greatest rarity in this castle is Joseph's well, so called, either because the Egyptians are pleased with ascribing what is most remarkable among them to that great man, or because such a tradition has been preserved in the country. This is a proof, at least, that the work in question is very ancient; and it is certainly worthy the magnificence of the most powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two stories, cut out of the solid rock to a prodigious depth. The descent to the reservoir of water, between the two wells, is by a staircase seven or eight feet broad, consisting of two hundred and twenty steps, and so contrived, that the oxen employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable ease, the descent being scarcely perceptible. The well is supplied from a spring, which is almost the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which a number of buckets are fastened. The water thus drawn from the first and lowermost well is conveyed by a little canal into a reservoir, which forms the second well; from whence it is drawn to the top in the same manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the castle. As this well is supposed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deserve a place among the curiosities of ancient Egypt.

Strabo† speaks of a similar engine, which, by wheels and pulleys, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a very high hill; with this difference, that, instead of oxen, a hundred and fifty slaves were employed to turn these wheels.

The part of Egypt of which we now speak, is famous for several rarities, each of which deserves a particular examination. I shall mention only the principal, such as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

#### SECT. 1.—THE OBELISKS.

EGYPT seemed to place its chief glory in raising monuments for posterity. Its obelisks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, despairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high spire or pyramid, raised perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to serve as an ornament to

\* Thevenot.

† L. xvii. p. 807.



some open square; and is very often covered with inscriptions or hieroglyphics, that is, with mystical characters or symbols used by the Egyptians to conceal and disguise their sacred things, and the mysteries of their theology.

Sesostris \* erected in the city of Heliopolis two obelisks of extreme hard stone, brought from the quarries of Syenc, at the extremity of Egypt. They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty feet.† The emperor Augustus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, caused these two obelisks to be transported to Rome, one whereof was broken to pieces. He‡ dared not venture to make the same attempt upon a third, which was of a monstrous size. It was made in the reign of Rameses: it is said that twenty thousand men were employed in the cutting of it. Constantius, more daring than Augustus, caused it to be removed to Rome. Two of these obelisks are still to be seen there, as well as another a hundred cubits, or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits, or two fathoms, in diameter. Caius Cæsar§ had it brought from Egypt in a ship of so odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been seen.

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obelisks; they were for the most part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where some are now to be seen half finished. But the most wonderful circumstance is, that the ancient Egyptians should have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raised up the columns, obelisks, and statues on rafts,|| proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country was intersected every where with canals, there were few places to which those huge bodies might not be carried with ease; although their weight would have broken every other kind of engine.

## SECT. II.—THE PYRAMIDS.

A PYRAMID ¶ is a solid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a square base, and terminating in a point.

There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof was justly ranked among the seven wonders of the world; they stood not very far from the city of Memphis. I shall take notice here only of the largest of the three. This pyramid like the rest, was built on a rock, having a square base cut on the outside as so many steps, and decreasing gradually quite to the summit. It was built with stones of a prodigious size, the least of which were thirty feet, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to several ancient authors, each side was eight hundred feet broad, and as many

\* Diod. lib. i. p. 37. † It is proper to observe, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was one foot nine inches and about three quarters of our measure.

‡ Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 8, 9.

§ Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 9.

|| Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.

¶ Herod. lib. ii. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 39—41. Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

high. The summit of the pyramid, which to those who viewed it from below seemed a point, was a fine platform, composed of ten or twelve massy stones, and each side of that platform sixteen or eighteen feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the Academy of Sciences, who went purposely on the spot in 1693, gives us the following dimensions:

The side of the square base	- - - -	110 fathoms.
The fronts are equilateral triangles, and there-fore the superficies of the base is	- - - - }	12,100 square fathoms.
The perpendicular height	- - - -	77 $\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms.
The solid contents	- - - -	313,590 cubical fathoms.

A hundred thousand men were constantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. Ten complete years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immense edifice, the inside of which contained numberless rooms and apartments. There were expressed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the sums it cost only for garlick, leeks, onions, and other vegetables of this description, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver,\* that is four millions five hundred thousand French livres, from whence it was easy to conjecture what a vast sum the whole expense must have amounted to.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure as well as size, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the barbarians. But what efforts soever men may make, their nothingness will always appear. These pyramids were tombs; and there is still to be seen, in the middle of the largest, an empty sepulchre, cut out of one entire stone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above six feet long.† Thus, all this bustle, all this expense, and all the labours of so many thousand men for so many years, ended in procuring for a prince, in this vast and almost boundless pile of building, a little vault six feet in length. Besides, the kings who built these pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them, and so did not enjoy the sepulchre they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reason of their unheard-of cruelties to their subjects, in laying such heavy tasks upon them, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

This last circumstance,‡ which historians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgement we ought to pass on these edifices, so much boasted of by the ancients. It is but just to remark and esteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture—a genius that prompted them from the earliest times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without deviating in the least from a noble simplicity, in which the highest perfection of the art consists. But what idea ought we to form of those princes, who considered as something grand, the raising by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money,

\* About 200,000l. sterling.  
lib. xvii. p. 808.

† Strabo mentions the sepulchre,

‡ Diod. lib. p. 40.

immense structures, with the sole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not scruple to destroy thousands of their subjects to satisfy their vain-glory! They differed very much from the Romans, who sought to immortalize themselves by works of a magnificent kind, but, at the same time, of public utility.

Pliny \* gives us, in few words, a just idea of these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; '*Regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio:*' and adds, that by a just punishment, their memory is buried in oblivion; the historians not agreeing among themselves about the names of those who first raised those vain monuments; '*Inter eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.*' In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the industry of the architects of those pyramids is no less valuable and praiseworthy, than the design of the Egyptian kings is contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we should most admire in these ancient monuments, is, the true and standing evidence they give of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy; that is, in a science which seems incapable of being brought to perfection but by a long series of years and a great number of observations. M. de Chazelles, when he measured the great pyramid in question, found that the four sides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world, and consequently shewed the true meridian of that place. Now, as so exact a situation was in all probability purposely pitched upon by those who piled up this huge mass of stones above three thousand years ago, it follows, that during so long a space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or (which amounts to the same thing) in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark in his eulogium of M. de Chazelles.

### SECT. III.—THE LABYRINTH.

What has been said † concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may also be applied to the Labyrinth, which Herodotus, who saw it, assures us was still more surprising than the pyramids. It was built at the southern extremity of the lake of Mœris, whereof mention will be made presently, near the town of Crocodiles, the same with Arsinoë. It was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, regularly disposed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interspersed with terraces, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet to such as went to see them. There was the like number of buildings under ground. These subterraneous structures were designed for the burying-place of the kings, and also (who can speak this without confusion, and without deploring the blindness of man!) for keeping the sacred crocodiles, which a nation, so wise in other respects, worshipped as gods.

In order to visit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was necessary, as the reader will naturally suppose, for people to take the same precaution as Ariadne made Theseus use, when he was obliged to go and fight

\* Lib i. xxxvi. cap. 12. † Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811.



the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil describes it in this manner :

Ut quondam Creta \* fertur labyrinthus in alta  
Parietibus textum cæcis iter ancipitemque  
Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi  
Falleret indeprencus et irremeabilis error.

† Illic labor ille domus, et inextricabilis error.  
Dædalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,  
Cæca regens filo vestigia.

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,  
With wand'ring ways, and many a winding fold,  
Involved the weary feet without redress,  
In a round error, which deny'd recess:  
Not far from thence he grav'd the wond'rous maze—  
A thousand doors, a thousand winding ways.

#### SECT. IV.—THE LAKE OF MÆRIS.

The noblest ‡ and most wonderful of all the structures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Mæris : accordingly, Herodotus considers it as vastly superior to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or less fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile ; and as in these floods the too great or too little rise of the waters was equally fatal to the lands, king Mæris, to prevent these two inconveniences, and to correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the assistance of nature ; and so caused the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This lake § was in circumference about three thousand six hundred stadia, that is about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep. Two pyramids, on each of which was placed a colossal statue, seated on a throne, raised their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midst of the lake, whilst their foundations took up the same space under the water, a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonstration that a lake of such vast extent was the work of man's hands, in one prince's reign. This is what several historians have related, concerning the lake Mæris, on the testimony of the inhabitants of the country. And M. Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux, in his discourse on universal history, relates the whole as fact. For my part, I will confess that I do not see the least probability in it. Is it possible to conceive, that a lake of one hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince ? In what manner, and where, could the earth taken from it be conveyed ? What should prompt the Egyptians to lose the surface of so much land ? By what arts could they fill this vast tract with the superfluous waters of the Nile ? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion, therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer ; especially as his account is confirmed by several modern travellers. According to that author, this lake is but twenty thousand paces, that is, seven or eight

\* Æneid. l. v. ver. 588, &c. † l. vi. ver. 27, &c. ‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 140. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787. Diod. l. i. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Mela. l. i. § Vide Herod. et Diod. Pliny agrees almost with them.

French leagues in circumference. 'Mœris,\* aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.'

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal, more than four leagues long,† and fifty feet broad. Great sluices either opened or shut the canal and lake, as there was occasion.

The charge of opening or shutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thousand French crowns.‡ The fishing of this lake brought the monarch immense sums; but its chief utility related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it rose too high, and was like to be attended with fatal consequences, the sluices were opened, and the waters having a free passage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a sufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake to water the lands. In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty ensued; and even when it rose but to eight cubits, the dearth was scarce felt in the country; doubtless because the waters of the lake made up for those of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

#### SECT. V.—THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

The Nile is the greatest wonder of Egypt. As it seldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, supplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet say ingeniously, 'The Egyptian pastures, how great soever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain:'

'Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,  
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi.'§

To multiply so beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberless canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different situations and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility everywhere with its salutary streams; united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the king against the enemy, so that it was at once the nourisher and protector of Egypt.

The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities that were raised with immense labour, and stood like islands in the midst of the waters, looked down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the same time enriched, by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, so famous among the ancients. But a wonder so astonishing in itself, and which has been the object of the curiosity and admiration of the learned in all ages, seems to require a more particular description, in which I shall be as concise as possible.

\* Mela, l. i. † Eighty-five stadia. ‡ 11,250l. sterling. § Seneca, (Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 2.) ascribes these verses to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

## 1. THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

THE ancients placed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly called), in the 10th degree of south latitude. But our modern travellers have discovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north latitude; and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the course which the ancients gave that river. It rises at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Gojam in Abyssinia, from two springs, or eyes, to speak in the language of the country, the same word in Arabic signifying eye and fountain. These springs are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach-wheel. The Nile is increased with many rivulets which run into it; and after passing through Ethiopia in a very winding course, flows at last into Egypt.

## 2. THE CATARACTS OF THE NILE.

THIS name is given to some parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the steep rocks. This river, which at first glided smoothly along the vast deserts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, passes by the cataracts. Then growing on a sudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in those places where it is pent up and restrained; after having at last broken through all obstacles in its way, it precipitates itself from the top of some rocks to the bottom, with so loud a noise, that it is heard three leagues off.

The inhabitants of the country, accustomed by long practice to this sport, exhibit here a spectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long sustained the violence of the raging waves by managing their little boat very dexterously, they suffer themselves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as swift as an arrow. The affrighted spectator imagines they are going to be swallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, restored to its natural course, discovers them again, at a considerable distance, on its smooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

## 3. CAUSES OF THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE ancients\* have invented many subtle reasons for the Nile's great increase, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of dispute, it being almost universally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. These rains swell it to such a degree, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and overspreads the whole country.

Strabo observes,† that the ancients only guessed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that several travellers have since been eye-witnesses

\* Herod. l. ii. c. 19—27. Diod. l. i. p. 35—39. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. l. ct. ii.

† Lib. xvii. p. 789.



of it; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and sciences, having sent thither able persons, purposely to examine this matter, and to ascertain the cause of so uncommon and remarkable an effect.

#### 4. THE TIME AND CONTINUANCE OF THE INUNDATIONS.

Herodotus,\* and after him Diodorus Siculus, and several other authors, declare, that the Nile begins to swell in Egypt at the summer solstice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to rise till the end of September; and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees very nearly with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, viz. the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must, consequently, begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and accordingly travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at the first, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus, on the other. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and suppose the Nile to draw off from the lands in three months or a hundred days. And what adds to the difficulty, is, that Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: '*In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in Libra, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die.*' I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

#### 5. THE HEIGHT OF THE INUNDATIONS.

The just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits. When it rises but to twelve or thirteen, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds sixteen, there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and a half. The emperor Julian† takes notice, in a letter to Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which it is hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observers and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approached the sea.

\* Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Diod. l. i. p. 32.

† Jul. Epist. 50.

As the riches of Egypt\* depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase had been carefully considered; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce. The kings had placed at Memphis a measure on which these different increases were remarked; and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promise themselves from the harvest. Strabo† speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.

The same custom is observed to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city, how high it is risen. The tribute paid to the Grand Signior for the lands, is regulated by the inundation. The day on which it rises to a certain height, is kept as a grand festival, and solemnized with fireworks, feastings, and all the demonstrations of public rejoicing; and in the remotest ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with an universal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happiness.

The heathens‡ ascribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis; and the pillar on which was marked the increase, was preserved religiously in the temple of that idol. The emperor Constantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians spread a report, that the Nile would rise no more by reason of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increased as usual the following years. Julian the apostate, a zealous protector of idolatry, caused this pillar to be replaced in the same temple, out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodosius.

#### 6. THE CANALS OF THE NILE AND SPIRAL PUMPS.

DIVINE Providence, in giving so beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labour was to be used to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stand very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, have each their canals, which are opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages have theirs also, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters are successively conveyed to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at a certain height; nor to open them all at once; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is husbanded with such care, that it

\* Diod. l. i. p. 33.    † Lib. xvii. p. 517.    ‡ Socrat. l. i. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 3.

spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But, as notwithstanding all these canals, there are still abundance of high lands, which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned by oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. Diodorus\* speaks of a similar engine invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt, which is called *Cochlea Ægyptia*.

#### 7. THE FERTILITY CAUSED BY THE NILE.

There is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt, which is owing entirely to the Nile; for, whereas, other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired. The husbandman in this country never tires himself with holding the plough or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and with little or no expense. Two months after, it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians generally sow in October and November, according as the waters draw off: and their harvest is in March and April.

The same land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettuces and cucumbers are sown first, then corn; and, after harvest, several sorts of pulse which are peculiar to Egypt. As the sun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very seldom in it, it is natural to suppose that the earth would soon be parched, and the corn and pulse burnt up by so scorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reservoirs with which Egypt abounds, and which, by the drains from thence, amply supply wherewith to water and refresh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no less to the nourishment of cattle, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to grass in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never express how rich their pastures are, and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reason of the mildness of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut straw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, says Cornille de Bruyn in his Travels,† help observing the admirable providence of God towards this country, who sends at a fixed season such great quantities of rain in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarce ever falls; and, who by that means, causes the driest and most sandy soil to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe.

Another thing to be observed here, is that (as the inhabitants say) in the beginning of June and the four following months, the north-east

\* Lib. i. p. 30. and lib. v. p. 13.

† Vol. II.



winds blow constantly, in order to keep back the waters, which otherwise would draw off too fast, and to hinder them from discharging themselves into the sea, the entrance to which these winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumstance.

The same Providence,\* whose ways are wonderful and infinitely various, displayed itself after a quite different manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceeding fruitful, not by rains, which fall during the course of the year, as is usual in other places, nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt, but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when his people were obedient to him, to make them more sensible of their continual dependence upon him. God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflexion: 'The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.'† After this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, the former and the latter rain; the first in autumn, to bring up the corn, and the second in the spring and summer, to make it grow and ripen.

#### S. THE DIFFERENT PROSPECTS EXHIBITED BY THE NILE.

There cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year. For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causes leading from place to place, the whole interspersed with groves and fruit trees, whose tops only are visible, all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds, on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms, on the orange, lemon, and other trees, and is so pure, that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead, as it were, in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

#### D. THE CANAL FORMED BY THE NILE, BY WHICH A COMMUNICATION IS MADE BETWEEN THE TWO SEAS.

The canal,‡ by which a communication was made between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not one of the least advantages which the Nile procured to Egypt. Sesostris, or according to others, Psammetichus, first projected the design, and began

\* *Multiformis sapientia.* Eph. iii. 10.

† Deut. xi. 10—13.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. 158. Strab. l. xvii. p. 804. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Diod. l. i. p. 29.

this work. Necho, successor to the last prince, laid out immense sums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is said, that above six score thousand Egyptians perished in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the first of that name; but he also desisted from it, upon his being told, that as the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at last finished under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of sluices, opened or shut the canal, as there was occasion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubastus. It was a hundred cubits, that is twenty-five fathoms broad, so that two vessels might pass with ease; it had depth enough to carry the largest ships, and was about one thousand stadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great service to the trade of Egypt; but it is now almost filled up, and there are scarce any remains of it to be seen.



### CHAPTER III.

#### LOWER EGYPT.

I am now to speak of lower Egypt. Its shape, which resembles a triangle or Delta,  $\Delta$ , gave occasion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of island; it begins at a place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itself into the Mediterranean; the mouth, on the right hand, is called the Pelusian, and the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Pelusium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Rosetta. Between these two large branches, there are five others of less note. This island is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest part of Egypt. Its chief cities (very anciently) were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Pelusium, and, in later times, Alexandria, Nicapolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Israelites dwelt.

There was at Sais \* a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is supposed to be the same as Isis, with the following inscription: "I am whatever hath been, and is, and shall be; and no mortal hath yet pierced through the vail that shrouds me."

Heliopolis,† that is, the city of the sun, was so called, from a magnificent temple there, dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate some particulars concerning the Phoenix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or six hundred years, and is of the size of an eagle. His head is adorned with a shining and most beautiful crest; the feathers of his neck are of a gold colour, and the rest of a purple, his tail is white, intermixed with red,

\* Plutar. de Isid. p. 354. † Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

and his eyes sparkling like stars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a nest with wood and aromatic spices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow, a worm is produced, out of which another Phoenix is formed. His first care is to solemnize his parent's obsequies, for which purpose he makes up a ball in the shape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh, as heavy as he can carry, which he often essays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he deposits his parent's body, and closes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his shoulders, and flying to the altar of the sun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus dispute the truth of some of the circumstances of this account, but seem to suppose it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falsehood, hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of phoenix to whatever is singular and uncommon in its kind: 'Rara avis in terris,' says Juvenal\*, speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. And Seneca observes the same of a good man.

What is reported of swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the philosophers. 'O mutis quoque piscibus donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum,' says Horace to Melpomene.† Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the Senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan: 'Illa tanquam cyenea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio.' De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans, who, perceiving by a secret instinct, and a sort of divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing, and with joy:—'Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur.'—Tusc. Qu. l. i. n. 73. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth, and return now to my subject

It was in Heliopolis,‡ that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a god. Cambyzes, king of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city, burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almost in magnificence with the ancient cities in Egypt. It stands four days' journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the trade of the East. The merchandises§ were unloaded at Portus

\* Sat. vi.

† Od. iii. l. iv.

‡ Strab. l. xvii. p. 805.

§ Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.



Muris,\* a town on the Western coast of the Red Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebals, called Copht, and afterwards conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants resorted from all parts.

It is well known that the trade of the East hath at all times enriched those who carried it on. This was the chief source of the vast treasures that Solomon amassed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jerusalem. David, by conquering Idumæa, became master of Elath and Esiongeber, two towns situated on the Eastern shore of the Red Sea. From these two ports, Solomon sent fleets to Ophir and Tarshish,† which always brought back immense riches.‡ This traffic, after having been enjoyed some time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, passed from them into the hands of the Tyrians. These§ got all their merchandise conveyed, by the way of Rhinocolura (a sea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine), to Tyre, from whence they distributed them all over the Western world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themselves exceedingly, under the Persian empire, by the favour and protection of whose monarchs they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themselves masters of Egypt, they soon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the western side of the Red Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby rose to be the city of the greatest trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffic which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was discovered, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts by the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time were masters of this trade; but now it is in a manner engrossed wholly by the English and Dutch. This short account of the East India trade, from Solomon's time, to the present age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux, Part I. i. p. 9.

For the convenience of trade,|| there was built near Alexandria, in an island called Pharos, a tower which bore the same name. At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light such ships as sailed by night near those dangerous coasts, which were full of sands and shelves, from whence all other towers, designed for the same use, have derived their name, as, Pharo di Messina, &c. The famous architect Sostratus built it by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it.¶ It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. Some, through a mistake, have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own. It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. 'Sostratus Cnidius Dexiphanis F. Diis Serva-

\* Or Myos Hormos. † 1 Kings, ix. 26. ‡ He got in one voyage 450 talents of gold, 2 Chron. viii. 18.; which amounts to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling. Prid. Connect. Vol. I. ad ann. 740. not. § Strab. l. xvi. p. 481. || Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. ¶ Eight hundred thousand crowns, or 180,000l. sterling.

toribus pro navigantibus:’ i. e. Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of sea-faring people. But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally so fond of, to suffer, that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which indeed would be very ill placed here.\* This author informs us that Sostratus, to engross in after times the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the king’s name. The lime soon inouldered away; and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud and ridiculous vanity.

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb. In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated, witness that stately edifice, surnamed the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the public expense; and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus; and which, by the magnificence of the kings his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. In Cæsar’s wars with the Alexandrians†, part of this library (situate in the Bruchion‡), which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

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## PART THE SECOND.

### OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT was ever considered, by all the ancients, as the most renowned school for wisdom and politics, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This kingdom bestowed its noblest labours and finest arts on the improvement of mankind; and Greece was so sensible of this, that its most illustrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legislators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needless to mention, travelled into Egypt to complete their studies, and draw from that fountain whatever was most rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himself has given this kingdom a glorious testimony; when praising Moses, he says of him, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.§

To give some idea of the manners and customs of Egypt, I shall confine myself principally to these particulars: its kings and government; priests and religion; soldiers and war; sciences, arts, and trades.

The reader must not be surprised if he sometimes finds, in the customs I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumstance is owing either to the difference of countries and nations, which did not always

\* De scribend. Hist. p. 706. † Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. ix. ‡ A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria. § Acts, vii. 22.

follow the same usages ; or to the different way of thinking of the historians whom I copy.

## CHAPTER I.

### CONCERNING THE KINGS AND GOVERNMENT.

The Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. A nation so grave and serious immediately perceived, that the true end of politics is, to make life easy, and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary ; but, according to Diodorus,\* the Egyptian princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions than his own arbitrary will and pleasure. But here, kings were under greater restraint from the laws than their subjects. They had some particular ones digested by a former monarch, that composed part of what the Egyptians called the sacred books.— Thus every thing being settled by ancient custom, they never sought to live in a different way from their ancestors.

No slave nor foreigner was admitted into the immediate service of the prince ; such a post was too important to be intrusted to any persons, except those who were the most distinguished by their birth, and had received the most excellent education ; to the end that as they had the liberty of approaching the king's person day and night, he might, from men so qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majesty ; nor have any sentiments instilled into him but such as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely seen that kings fly out into any vicious excess, unless those who approach them approve their irregularities, or serve as instruments to their passions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of what they ate and drank to be prescribed them (a thing customary in Egypt, whose inhabitants were all sober, and whose air inspired frugality), but even that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day break, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received ; to form a more just and distinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their consideration that day.

As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple ; where, surrounded with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high-priest, in which he asked of the gods health, and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high priest entered into a long detail of his royal virtues ; observing that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere ; an enemy to falsehood ; liberal ; master of his passions ; punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but

\* Diod. l. i. p. 63, &c.



boundless in rewarding merit. He next spoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of; but supposed at the same time that they never committed any, except by surprise or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveying instruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual method to inspire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifices were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I have already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of what he ate or drank were prescribed, by the laws, to the king: his table was covered with nothing but the most common food; because eating in Egypt was designed, not to tickle the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded (observes the historian) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things; and we read in Plutarch\* of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with imprecations against that king who first introduced profusion and luxury into Egypt.

The principal duty of kings, and their most essential function, is the administering justice to their subjects. Accordingly the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the ease and comfort of individuals, but the happiness of the state; which would be a herd of robbers rather than a kingdom, should the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and influence to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were selected out of the principal cities, to form a body for dispensing justice through the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling these vacancies, chose such as were most renowned for their honesty; and put at their head, him who was most distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the most universal esteem. They had revenues assigned them, to the end that being freed from domestic cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus honorably maintained by the generosity of the prince, they administered gratuitously to the people that justice to which they have a natural right, and which ought to be equally open to all; and, in some sense, to the poor more than the rich, because the latter find a support within themselves; whereas the very condition of the former exposes them more to injuries, and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard against surprise, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That false eloquence was dreaded, which dazzles the mind and moves the passions. Truth

\* De Isid. & Osir. p. 354.

could not be expressed with too much plainness, as it alone was to have the sway in judgments ; because in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security. The president of this senate wore a collar of gold, set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the president put this collar on, it was understood as a signal to enter upon business. He touched the party with it who was to gain his cause, and this was the form of passing sentence.

The most excellent circumstance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual, from his infancy, was nurtured in the strictest observance of them. A new custom in Egypt was a kind of miracle.\* All things there ran in the old channel ; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance ; and consequently no nation ever retained their laws and customs longer than the Egyptians.

Wilful murder was punished with death,† whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether he was free-born or otherwise.— In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians were superior to that of the Romans, who gave the master an absolute power of life and death over his slave. The Emperor Adrian, indeed, abolished this law ; from an opinion, that an abuse of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever so great.

Perjury was also punished with death,‡ because that crime attacks both the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a false oath ; and men, by breaking the strongest tie of human society, viz. sincerity and veracity.

The false accuser was condemned to undergo the punishment which the person accused was to have suffered, had the accusation been proved.§

He who had neglected or refused to save a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to assist him, was punished as rigorously as the assassin : || but if the unfortunate person could not be succoured, the offender was at least to be impeached ; and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the subjects were a guard and protection to one another ; and the whole body of the community united against the designs of the bad.

No man was allowed to be useless to the state ; ¶ but every one was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a public register, that remained in the hands of the magistrate, and to describe his profession, and his means of support. If he gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicane, king Asychis made a very judicious law.\*\* The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties, in contriving a just medium, to restrain, on one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan ; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a

\* Plat. in Tim. p. 656. † Diod. l. i. p. 70. ‡ Ib. p. 69. § Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

\*\* Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

wise course on this occasion; and, without doing any injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy in case he were dishonest. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care and kept reverentially in his house (as will be observed in the sequel,) and therefore might be easily moved from one place to another: But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead.\*

Diodorus remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators.† They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and getting their bread: but, at the same time, they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves, who alone were capable of using these implements; which exposed them to the same inconveniences, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belong, and are necessary to it; who labour for the public emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

Polygamy was allowed in Egypt, except to the priests, who could marry but one woman.‡ Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

One custom that was practised in Egypt, shows the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged;§ and this is the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authorized by the laws, but even, in some measure, originated from their religion, from the example and practice of such of their gods, as had been the most anciently and universally adored in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.

A very great respect was there paid to old age.|| The young were obliged to rise up for the old; and on every occasion, to resign to them the most honourable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

The virtue in the highest esteem among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shows that they were the best formed of any nation for social life. Benefits are the band of concord, both public and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to confer them; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that it is impossible for a man to be insensible of it. But it was particularly to-

\* This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: the debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him.

† Diod. l. i. p. 71. ‡ Ibid. p. 72. § Ibid p. 22. || Herod. l. ii. c. 20.

wards their kings that the Egyptians prided themselves on evincing their gratitude. They honoured them whilst living, as so many visible representations of the Deity; and after their death lamented for them as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the Divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals: and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their persons.

## CHAPTER II.

### CONCERNING THE PRIESTS AND RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS.

PRIESTS in Egypt, held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, 'Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.'\*

The prince usually honoured them with a large share in his confidence and government, because they, of all his subjects, had received the best education, had acquired the greatest knowledge, and were most strongly attached to the king's person and the good of the public. They were at one and the same time the depositaries of religion and of the sciences; and to this circumstance was owing the great respect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike consulted upon the most sacred things relating to the mysteries of religion, and the most profound subjects in the several sciences.

The Egyptians pretend to be the first institutors of festivals and processions in honour of the gods.† One festival was celebrated in the city of Bubastus, whither persons resorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards of seventy thousand, besides children, were seen at it. Another, surnamed the feast of the lights, was solemnized at Sais. All persons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate their windows.

Different animals were sacrificed in different countries;‡ but one common and general ceremony was observed in all sacrifices, viz. the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the same time with imprecations; and praying the gods to divert upon that victim all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.

It is to Egypt that Pythagoras owed his favourite doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.§ The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men, their souls transmigrated into other human bodies; and that, if they had been vicious, they were imprisoned in the bodies of unclean or ill-conditioned beasts, to expiate in them their past

\* Gen. xlvii. 26.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 60.

‡ Ibid. c. 39.

§ Diod. l. i. p. 88.



transgressions ; and that after a revolution of some centuries, they again animated other human bodies.

The priest had the possession of the sacred books, which contained at large the principles of government, as well as the mysteries of divine worship. Both were commonly involved in symbols and enigmas, which, under these veils, made truth more venerable, and excited more strongly the curiosity of men.\* The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian sanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, seemed to intimate, that mysteries were there enclosed, the knowledge of which was revealed to very few. The sphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the same. It is very well known, that pyramids, obelisks, pillars, statues, in a word, all public monuments, were usually adorned with hieroglyphics, that is, with symbolical writings ; whether these were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, under which was couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. Thus, by a hare, was signified a lively and piercing attention, because this creature has a very delicate sense of hearing.† The statue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground, symbolized the duties of those who were to exercise the judiciary functions. ‡

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I shall confine myself to two articles, which form the principal part of it ; and these are the worship of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

#### SECT. I.—THE WORSHIP OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.

NEVER were any people more superstitious than the Egyptians ; they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I shall omit, because they belong more to fable than to history. Among the rest, two were universally adored in that country, and these were Osiris and Isis, which are thought to be the sun and moon : and indeed the worship of those planets gave rise to idolatry.

Besides these gods, the Egyptians worshipped a great number of beasts ; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the ibis, § the cat, &c. Many of these beasts were the objects of the superstition only of some particular cities ; and whilst one people worshipped one species of animals as gods, their neighbours held the same animals in abomination. This was the source of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another ; and this was owing to the false policy of one of their kings, who to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conspiring against the state, endeavoured to draw off their attention, by engaging them in religious contests. I call this a false and mistaken policy ; because it directly thwarts the true spirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the strictest ties, and to make all its strength consist in the perfect harmony of its several parts.

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. ‘ Among us,’ says Cicero, ‘ it is very common to see temples robbed, [and statues carried off ; but

\* Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 354.

† Plut. Sympos. lib. iv. p. 670.

‡ Id de Isid. p. 355.

§ Or Egyptian stork.

it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, a cat; for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege."\* It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; † and even a punishment was decreed against him who should have killed an ibis, or cat, with or without design. Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness during his stay in Egypt. ‡ A Roman having inadvertently and without design, killed a cat, the exasperated populace ran to his house; and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal. And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous. § Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such a pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis dying of old age, || the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expenses, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns. ¶ After the last honours had been paid to the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor; and all Egypt was sought through for that purpose. He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyzes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition against Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in transports of joy for the discovery of their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an insult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the first impulse of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a short enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf set up near mount Sinai by the Israelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis: as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam (who had resided a considerable time in Egypt) in the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incense to animals, carried their folly to such an excess, as to ascribe a divinity to the pulse and

\* De nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 78. † Herod. l. ii. c. 65. ‡ Diod. l. i. p. 74, 75. § Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 76. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. || Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years; and was drowned in the priests' well. 'Non est fas cum certis vitæ excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte cneant.' Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 46. ¶ Above 11,250l. sterling.

roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniously reproached by the satirist:

‘ Who has not heard where Egypt’s realms are named,  
 What monster-gods her frantic sons have framed?  
 Here Ibis gorged with well-grown serpents, there  
 The Crocodile commands religious fear:  
 Where Memnon’s statue magic strings inspire  
 With vocal sounds, that emulate the lyre;  
 And Thebes, such, Fate, are thy disastrous turns  
 Now prostrate o’er her pompous ruins mourns;  
 A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!  
 Strikes the beholder’s eye with burnish’d gold:  
 To godship here blue Tritons’ scaly herd,  
 The river-progeny is there preferr’d:  
 Through towns Diana’s power neglected lies,  
 Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise:  
 And should you leeks or onions eat, no time  
 Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.  
 Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,  
 Where ev’ry orchard is o’er-run with gods.’ Juv. Sat. xv.

It is astonishing to see a nation which boasted its superiority above all others with regard to wisdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itself to the most gross and ridiculous superstitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile insects, honoured with religious worship, placed in temples, and maintained with great care and at an extravagant expense;\* to read, that those who murdered them were punished with death; and that these animals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs assigned them by the public; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities; were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succour and protection; are absurdities which we, at this distance of time, can scarce believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, says Lucian,† into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many palaces, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them.

Several reasons are assigned for the worship paid to animals by the Egyptians.‡

The first is drawn from fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship which was afterwards paid to those animals.

The second is taken from the benefit which these several animals procure to mankind: Oxen by their labour; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting, and guarding houses, whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog’s head: the ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipped, because he put to flight the winged serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously in-

\* Diodorus affirms, that in his time the expense amounted to no less than one hundred thousand crowns, or 22,500*l.* sterling. Lib. i. p. 75.

† Imag. ‡ Diod. l. i. p. 77, &c.

fested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprising strength and size,\* was worshipped, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the ichneumon was adored, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have proved destructive to Egypt. Now the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when the crocodile is asleep upon the banks of the Nile (and he always sleeps with his mouth open), the ichneumon, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the skin of which is very tender, he escapes with safety; and thus, by his address and subtilty, returns victorious over so terrible an animal.

Philosophers, not satisfied with reasons which were too trifling to account for such strange absurdities as dishonoured the heathen system, and at which themselves secretly blushed, have, since the establishment of Christianity, supposed a third reason for the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themselves, but to the gods, of whom they are symbols. Plutarch, in his treatise† where he examines professedly the pretensions of Isis and Osiris, the two most famous deities of the Egyptians, says as follows: “Philosophers honour the image of God wherever they find it, even in animate beings, and consequently more in those which have life. We are therefore to approve, not the worshippers of these animals, but those who, by their means, ascend to the Deity; they are to be considered as so many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being displays himself in a wonderful manner; or, as so many instruments, which he makes use of to manifest outwardly his incomprehensible wisdom. Should men, therefore, for the embellishing of statues, amass together all the gold and precious stones in the world, the worship must not be referred to the statues, for the Deity does not exist in colours artfully disposed, nor in frail matter destitute of sense and motion.” Plutarch says in the same treatise,‡ “that as the sun and moon, heaven, earth, and the sea, are common to all men, but have different names according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one Deity, and one Providence which governs the universe, and which has several subaltern ministers under it, men give to the Deity, which is the same, different names; and pay it different honours, according to the laws and customs of every country.”

But were these reflections, which offer the most rational vindication that can be suggested of idolatrous worship, sufficient to cover the absurdity of it; could it be called a raising of the divine attributes in a suitable manner, to direct the worshipper to admire and seek for the image of them in beasts of the most vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, serpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debasing the Deity, of whom even the most stupid usually entertain a much greater and more august idea?

\* Which, according to Herodotus, is more than 17 cubits in length: l. ii. c. 68.

† P. 382.

‡ P. 377 and 378.



And even these philosophers were not always so just as to ascend from sensible beings to their invisible Author. The Scriptures tell us, that these pretended sages deserved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be “given over to a reprobate mind; and whilst they professed themselves wise, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.”\* To show what man is when left to himself, God permitted that very nation, which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre in which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other side, to display the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deserts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety and rigorous penance have done so much honour to the Christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it; and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

The great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abbe Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History,† was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The public edifices and idol temples had been converted into monasteries, and these likewise were more in number than the private houses. The monks lodged even over the gates and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratorios belonging to the monasteries. There were twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. By order of the magistrates, sentinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and the inhabitants vied with each other who should first receive them, in order to have an opportunity of exercising their hospitality towards them.

## SECT. II.—THE CEREMONIES OF THE EGYPTIAN FUNERALS.

I SHALL now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead, and the religious care which has always been taken of sepulchres, seem to insinuate an universal persuasion, that bodies were lodged in sepulchres merely as a deposit or trust.

We have already observed, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence sepulchres were built in Egypt; for, besides that they were erected as so many sacred monuments, destined to transmit to future times the memory of great princes; they were likewise considered as the mansions where the body was to remain during a long succession of ages; whereas common houses were called inns, in which men were to

\* Rom. i. ver. 22. 25.

† Tom. V. p. 25, 26.

abide only as travellers, and that during the course of a life which was too short to engage their affections.\*

When any person in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their usual habits and put on mourning ; and abstained from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning continued forty or seventy days ; probably according to the quality of the person.

Bodies were embalmed three different ways.† The most magnificent was bestowed on persons of distinguished rank, and the expense amounted to a talent of silver, or three thousand French livres.‡

Many hands were employed in this ceremony.§ Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone that was as sharp as a razor : after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation (which was necessarily attended with some dissections) seemed in some measure cruel and inhuman, the persons employed fled as soon as the operation was over, and were pursued with stones by the standers-by. But those who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all sorts of spices. After a certain time, the body was swathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted over with the most exquisite perfumes. By this means it is said, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and even the hairs on the lids and eye-brows, were preserved in their natural perfection. The body thus embalmed, was delivered to the relations, who shut it up in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corpse ; then they placed it upright against the wall, either in their sepulchres (if they had any) or in their houses. These embalmed bodies are what we now call Mummies, which are still brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This shows the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceased relations was immortal. Children, by seeing the bodies of their ancestors thus preserved, recalled to mind those virtues for which the public had honoured them ; and were excited to a love of those laws which such excellent persons had left for their security. We find that part of these ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours paid to Joseph in Egypt.

I have said that the public recognized the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred assylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable to be found in ancient history.

It was a consolation among the heathens, to a dying man to leave a good name behind him ; and they imagined that this is the only human blessing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honour was to be obtained only from the public voice. The

\* Diod. l. i. p. 47.

‡ About 137l. 10s. sterling.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.

§ Diod. l. i. p. 51.

assembly of the judges met on the other side of a lake, which they crossed in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him, to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people admired the power of the laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and his family. But if the deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honourable manner.

A still more astonishing circumstance, in this public inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne itself was no protection from it. Kings were spared during their lives, because the public peace was concerned in this forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment passed upon the dead, and even some of them were deprived of sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see, in Scripture, that bad kings were not interred in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of men's judgment while they were alive, they would at last be liable to it when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

When therefore a favourable judgment was pronounced on a deceased person, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyric, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praises were considered as just or true, but such as related to the personal merit of the deceased. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards man, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people besought the gods to receive the deceased into the assembly of the just, and to admit him as a partaker with them of their everlasting felicity.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners in which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, exposed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preserved them to after ages. Others, as the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile; and others, again, laid them in the earth.

The care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular to whom respect is designed to be shown by this custom; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity; since whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy, and frightful remains of what they once were. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in destroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been

taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust of which they were at first formed.



## CHAPTER III.

### OF THE EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS AND WAR.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguished by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every soldier was allowed twelve *Arouæ*, that is, a piece of arable land very near answering to half a French acre,\* exempt from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a quart of wine.† This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in their defence of both; and as Diodorus observes,‡ it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country to men who had no interest in its preservation.

Four hundred thousand soldiers were kept in continual pay;§ 'all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline. They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse, and chariot-races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not show better horsemen than the Egyptians. The Scripture in several places|| speaks advantageously of their cavalry.

Military laws were easily preserved in Egypt, because sons received them from their fathers; the profession of war, as all others, being transmitted from father to son. Those who fled in battle,¶ or discovered any signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by some particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more advisable to restrain them by motives of honour, than by the terrors of punishment.

But notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. It is of little advantage to have regular and well paid troops; to have armies exercised in peace, and employed only

\* Twelve *Arouæ*. An Egyptian *Aroua* was 10,000 square cubits, equal to three roods, two perches, 55 and a quarter square feet of our measure.

† The Greek is *οἶνον τέσσαρες ἀρυστῆρες*, which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid: others, regarding the etymology of the word *ἀρυστήρ*, have translated it by *haustum*, a bucket, as *Lucretius*, lib. v. 51, others by *haustus*, a draught or sup. *Herodotus* says, this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards, who attended annually on the kings. Lib. ii. c. 168.

‡ Lib. i. p. 67.

§ *Herod.* l. ii. c. 164, 168.

|| *Cant.* i. 8. *Isa.* xxxvi. 9.

¶ *Diod.* p. 76.



in mock fights : it is war alone, and real combats, which form the soldier. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice, and maintained soldiers only for its security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conquest. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge ; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conquest. But, nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to illustrious conquerors, as will be observed hereafter, when we come to treat of its kings.



## CHAPTER IV.

### OF THEIR ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, but directed it only to useful projects. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it scarcely ignorant of any thing which could contribute to accomplish the mind, or procure ease and happiness. The discoverers of any useful invention received, both living and dead, rewards worthy of their profitable labours. It is this which consecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and stamped them with a divine authority. The first libraries were in Egypt ; and the titles they bore inspired an eager desire to enter them, and dive into the secrets they contained. They were called the remedy for the diseases of the soul, and that very justly, because the soul was there cured of ignorance, the most dangerous, and the parent of all other maladies.

As their country was level, and the sky always serene and unclouded, the Egyptians were among the first who observed the courses of the planets. These observations led them to regulate the year\* from the course of the sun ; for as Diodorus observes, their year, from the most remote antiquity, was composed of three hundred sixty-five days and six hours. To adjust the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveys ; and this first taught them geometry. They were great observers of nature, which, in a climate so serene, and under so intense a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

\* It will not seem surprising that the Egyptians, who were the most ancient observers of the celestial motions, should have arrived to this knowledge, when it is considered that the lunar year, made use of by the Greeks and Romans, though it appears so inconvenient and irregular, supposed nevertheless a knowledge of the solar year, such as Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Egyptians. It will appear at first sight, by calculating their intercalations, that those who first divided the year in this manner, were not ignorant, that to three hundred sixty-five days, some hours were to be added, to keep pace with the sun. Their only error lay, in supposition, that only six hours were wanting : whereas an addition of almost eleven minutes more was requisite.

By this study and application they invented or improved the science of physic. The sick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success ; otherwise, a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked, indeed, the temerity of empirics ; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its just perfection. Every physician, if Herodotus \* may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one disease only ; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

What we have said of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obelisks, temples, and palaces, whose precious remains still strike the beholder with admiration, and in which the magnificence of the princes who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts, in which their greatest beauty consisted, seemed to vie with each other ; works, in many of which the liveliness of the colours remains to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or destroys them : all this, I say, shows the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and all other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

The Egyptians † entertained but a mean opinion of those gymnastic exercises, which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health ; as well as for music, which they considered as a diversion not only useless but dangerous, and only fit to enervate the mind.

## CHAPTER V

### OF THEIR HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS, AND ARTIFICERS.

HUSBANDMEN, shepherds, and artificers, ‡ formed the three classes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheless had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds. The body politic requires a superiority and subordination of its several members ; for as in the natural body, the eye may be said to hold the first rank, yet its lustre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on those parts which are less honourable. In like manner, among the Egyptians, the priests, soldiers, and scholars were distinguished by particular honours ; but all professions, to the meanest, had their share in the public esteem, because the despising any man, whose labours, however mean, were useful to the state, was thought a crime.

A better reason than the foregoing, might have inspired them at the first with these sentiments of equity and moderation, which they so long preserved. As they all descended from Cham, § their common father, the memory of their still recent origin occurring to the minds of all in those first ages, established among them a kind of equality, and stamped,

\* Lib. ii. c. 84. † Diod. lib. i. p. 73. ‡ Diod. l. i. p. 67, 68. § Or Ham

in their opinion, a nobility on every person derived from the common stock. Indeed the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which persons of the lowest rank are treated, are owing merely to the distance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meanest plebeian when his descent is traced back to the source, is equally noble with those of the most elevated rank and titles.

Be that as it will, no profession in Egypt was considered as grovelling or sordid. By this means arts were raised to their highest perfection. The honour which cherished them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life assigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to son. Two professions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exercised from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his ancestors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Besides, this wholesome institution, which had been established anciently throughout Egypt, extinguished all irregular ambition; and taught every man to sit down contented with his condition, without aspiring to one more elevated, from interest, vain-glory, or levity.

From this source flowed numberless inventions for the improvement of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more easy. I once could not believe that Diodorus\* was in earnest, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian industry, viz. that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the sitting of the hen; but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our investigation, and is said to be practised also in Europe. Their relations inform us that the Egyptians stow eggs in ovens, which are heated to such a temperament, and with such just proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced by these means are as strong as those which are hatched the natural way. The season of the year proper for this operation is from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During these four months upwards of three hundred thousand eggs are laid in these ovens, which, though they are not all successful, nevertheless produce vast numbers of fowls at an easy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a due degree of heat, which must not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are bestowed in heating these ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, say these travellers, to observe the hatching of these chickens, some of which show at first nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg: these last, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting spectacle. Cornelius le Bruyn, in his Travels,† has collected the observations of other travellers on this subject. Pliny likewise mentions it;‡ but it appears from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs.

I have said that husbandmen particularly, and these who took care of

\* Diod. l. i. p. 67.

† Tom. ii. p. 64.

‡ Lib. x. c. 54.

flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suffered.\* It was, indeed, to these two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonishing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

It will be always so with every kingdom, whose governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state and policy : and we may consider it as a misfortune that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem ; though it is from them that the most elevated ranks (as we esteem them) are furnished not only with the necessaries, but even the luxuries of life. " For," says Abbe Fleury, in his admirable work, " Of the manners of the Israelites," where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, " it is the peasant who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentleman, the ecclesiastic : and whatever artifice and craft may be used to convert money into commodities, and these back again into money, yet all must ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the earth, and the animals which it sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, when we compare men's different stations of life together, we give the lowest place to the husbandman ; and with many people a wealthy citizen, enervated with sloth, useless to the public, and void of all merit, has the preference merely because he has more money, and lives a more easy and delightful life. But let us imagine to ourselves a country where so great a difference is not made between the several conditions ; where the life of a nobleman is not made to consist in idleness and doing nothing, but in a careful preservation of his liberty ; that is, in a due subjection to the laws and the constitution ; by a man's subsisting upon his estate without a dependence on any one, and being contented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a great deal at the price of mean and base compliances ; a country, whose sloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of things necessary for life, are held in just contempt, and where pleasure is less valued than health and bodily strength : in such a country, it will be much more for a man's reputation to plough, and keep flocks, than to waste all his hours in sauntering from place to place, in gaming and expensive diversions."

But we need not have recourse to Plato's commonwealth for instances of men who have led these useful lives. It was thus that the greatest part of mankind lived during near four thousand years ; and that not only the Israelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to say, nations the most civilized, and most renowned for arms and wisdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle ; one of which (without saying any thing of hemp and flax so necessary for our clothing) supplies us by corn, fruits, and

\* Swineherds, in particular, had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. Herodotus (l. ii. c. 47.) tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage



pulse, with not only a plentiful but delicious nourishment ; and the other, besides its supply of exquisite meats to cover our tables, almost alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the skins and stuffs it furnishes.

Princes are commonly desirous, and their interest certainly requires it, that the peasant who, in a literal sense, sustains the heat and burden of the day, and pays so great a proportion of the national taxes, should meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the insatiable and merciless avarice of those who are appointed to collect their revenues. History has transmitted to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this head. A præfect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and, doubtless, with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a much larger sum than was customary ; that prince, who, in the beginning of his reign, thought, or at least spoke justly, answered, “ that it was his design not to flay, but to shear his sheep.”



## CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE FERTILITY OF EGYPT.

Under this head, I shall treat only of some plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

**Papyrus.**—This is a plant from the root of which shoot out a great many triangular stalks, to the height of six or seven cubits. The ancients writ at first upon palm leaves ;\* next on the inside of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived ; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impressed with an instrument called *Stylus*, sharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other, to efface what had been written ; which gave occasion to the following expression of Horace :—

Sæpe stylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi sint  
Scripturus : Sat. Lib. i. x. ver. 72.

Oft turn your style, if you desire to write  
Things that will bear a second reading—

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many erasures and corrections. At last the use of paper† was introduced, and this was made of the bark of papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing ; and this papyrus was likewise called *Byblus*.

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere byblos  
Noverat. Lucan.

Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves  
The watry byblos.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention, so useful to life, that it preserves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes those who achieved them.

\* Plin. l. xiii. c. 11. † The papyrus was divided into thin flakes (into which it naturally parted), which being laid on a table, and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards pressed together, and dried in the sun.

Varro ascribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The same Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, substituted parchment instead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which had the advantage over paper. Parchment is the skin of a sheep dressed and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum from Pergamus, whose kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuscripts are either upon parchment, or vellum, which is calf-skin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to see white fine paper wrought out of filthy rags picked up in the streets. The plant Papyrus was useful likewise for sails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.\*

**Linum.** Flax is a plant whose bark, full of fibres or strings, is useful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linen, and never in woollen; and all persons of distinction generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a considerable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The manufacture of flax employed a great number of hands in Egypt, especially of the women, as appears from that passage of Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a nature, that it should interrupt every kind of labour: 'Moreover they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net works, shall be confounded.'† We likewise find in Scripture, that one effect of the plague of hail, called down by Moses upon Egypt,‡ was the destruction of all the flax which was then bolled. This storm was in March.

**Byssus.** This was another kind of flax § extremely fine and delicate, which often received a purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the Asbeston or Asbestinum (i. e. the incombustible flax), places the Byssus in the next rank; and says, that the dress and ornaments of the ladies were made of it.¶ It appears from the Holy Scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt that cloth made of this fine flax was brought: 'Fine linen with embroidered work from Egypt.'¶

I take no notice of the Lotus, a very common plant, and in great request among the Egyptians, of whose berries in former times they made bread. There was another Lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the Lotophagi or Lotus eaters; because they lived upon the fruit of this

\* Plin. l. xix. c. i.    † Isa. xix. 9.    ‡ Exod. ix. 31.    § Plin. lib. xix. c. 1.    ¶ Proximus Byssino mulierum maxime deliciis genito: inventum jam est etiam [scilicet Linum] quod ignibus non absumetur, vivum id vocant, arduentesque in focis convivorum ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exustis splendescentes igni magis, quam possent equis: i. e. A flax is now found out, which is proof against the violence of fire; it is called living flax; and we have seen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining rooms; and receiving a lustre and a cleanliness from flames, which no water could have given it.    ¶ Ezek. xxvii. 7.

tree which had so delicious a taste, if Homer may be credited, that it made those who ate it forget all the sweets of their native country, as Ulysses found to his cost in his return from Troy.

In general, it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruits were excellent; and might as Pliny observes,\* have sufficed single for the nourishment of the inhabitants, such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty. And indeed working men lived then almost upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employed in building the pyramids.

Besides these rural riches, the Nile, from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Israelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the wilderness. ‘Who,’ say they, in a plaintive, and at the same time seditious tone, ‘shall give us flesh to eat?† We remember the flesh which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick. We sat by the flesh-pots, and we did eat bread to the full.‡’

But the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph’s administration. In later ages it was the resource and most certain granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well-known story, how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having threatened to prevent in future the importation of corn into Constantinople from Alexandria, incensed the emperor Constantine against that holy bishop, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The same reason induced all the emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they considered as the nursing mother of the world’s metropolis.

Nevertheless, the same river which enabled this province to subsist the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced even Egypt itself to the most terrible famine; and it is astonishing that Joseph’s wise foresight, which in fruitful years had made provision for seasons of sterility, should not have taught these so much boasted politicians, to adopt similar precautions against the changes and inconstancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyric upon Trajan, paints with wonderful strength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine under that prince’s reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be displeased to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny’s thoughts than to his expressions.

The Egyptians, says Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor sun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought, and a fatal sterility; from the greatest part of their territories being deserted and left unwatered

\* *Ægyptus frugum quidem fertilissima, sed ut prope sola iis carere possit, tanta est ciborum ex herbis abundantia.* Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

† Numb. xi. 4, 5.      ‡ Exod. xvi. 3.

by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and sure standard of their abundance. They then implored that assistance from their prince which they had been accustomed to expect only from their river.\* The delay of their relief was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined that this misfortune had befallen them only to display with greater lustre the generosity and goodness of Cæsar. It was an ancient and general opinion that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that though conquered, they nevertheless fed their conquerors; that, by means of their river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely in their own disposal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced, by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their sovereign, found a deliverer, and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people though at such a distance from us, yet so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience and the prince's generosity, restore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility!

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and foolish pride with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their most peculiar characteristics, and recalls to my mind a fine passage of Ezekiel, where God thus speaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings: 'Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself.† God perceived an insupportable pride in the heart of this prince: a sense of security and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely on the influences of heaven; as though the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or those of his predecessors: 'The river is mine, and I have made it.'

Before I conclude this second part, which treats of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me to bespeak the attention of my readers to different passages scattered in the history of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, which confirm and illustrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this subject. They will there observe the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the rest of the kingdom; the vigilance of the prince, who was informed of all trans-

\* Inundatione, id est, ubertate regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsaris invocavit, ut solet amnem suum.

† Ezek. xxix. 3, 9.



actions, had a regular council, a chosen number of ministers, armies ever well maintained and disciplined, both of horse, foot, and armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces; overseers or guardians of the public granaries; wise and exact dispensers of the corn lodged in them; a court composed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a chief cup-bearer, a master of his pantry; in a word, all things that compose a prince's household, and constitute a magnificent court. But above all these, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatenings of God were held,\* the inspector of all actions, and the judge of kings themselves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledged to be a crime of so heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing destruction on a nation.

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## PART THE THIRD.

### THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

No part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity, and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, which seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. According to its own historians,† first gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed it successively, through a series of more than twenty thousand years. But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manetho has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manetho was an Egyptian high priest, and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning: he wrote a history of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius and other ancient memoirs, preserved in the archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time of more than five thousand three hundred years, to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes,‡ who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Euergetes, a catalogue of thirty-eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manetho. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labour. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions is to suppose, with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynasties, that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings who have reigned in Egypt, of most of whom we have only the names transmitted to us. I shall only take notice of what seems to me

\* Gen. xii. 10—20.    † Diod. l. i. p. 41.    ‡ An historian of Cyrene.

most proper, to give youth the necessary light into this part of history, for whose sake principally I engaged in this undertaking; and I shall confine myself chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, concerning the Egyptian kings, without even scrupulously preserving the exactness of succession, at least in the early part of the monarchy, which is very obscure; and without pretending to reconcile these two historians. Their design, especially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact series of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out those princes whose history appeared to them most important and instructive. I shall follow the same plan, and hope to be forgiven for not having involved either myself or my readers, in a labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which the most able can scarce disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned pieces,\* in which this subject is treated in all its extent.

I am to premise that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles and singular incidents, all which, though he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover to be what they really are—I mean fiction.

The ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraim, the son of Cham,† in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyzes, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

The second period is intermixed with the Persian and Grecian history, and extends to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagidæ, or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus; to the death of Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, in 3974; and this last comprehends 293 years.

I shall now treat only of the first period, reserving the two others for the eras to which they belong.

#### THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

[A. M. 1816. Ant. J. C. 2188.]—MENES.—Historians are unanimously agreed that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraim, the son of Cham.

Cham was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa; and it doubtless was he who afterwards was worshipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, Chus,‡ Misraim, Phut,

\* Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronic.; Father Pezron; the Dissertations of F. Tournemine, and Abbe Sevin, &c.

† Or Ham.

‡ Or Cush, Gen. x. 6.

and Canaan. Chus settled in Ethiopia, Misraim in Egypt, which generally is called in Scripture after his name, and by that of Cham\* his father; Phut took possession of that part of Africa which lies westward of Egypt; and Canaan, of the country which afterwards bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people who are called almost always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

I return to Misraim.† He is allowed to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to be the first king of Egypt, the institutor of the worship of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the sacrifices.

Busiris, some ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the seat of his empire. We have elsewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Busiris, so infamous for his cruelties.

Osymandyas.—Diodorus gives a very particular description‡ of many magnificent edifices, raised by this king; one of which was adorned with sculptures and paintings of exquisite beauty, representing his expedition against the Bactrians, a people of Asia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. In another part of the edifice was exhibited an assembly of the judges, whose president wore, on his breast, a picture of Truth, with her eyes shut, and himself was surrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly versed in the laws, and impartial in the administration of them.

The king likewise was painted here, offering to the gods gold and silver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the sum of sixteen millions.§

Not far from hence was seen a magnificent library, the oldest mentioned in history. Its title or inscription on the front was, ‘The office, or treasury, of remedies for the diseases of the soul.’ Near it were placed statues, representing all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made suitable offerings: by which he seemed to be desirous of informing posterity that his life and reign had been crowned with piety to the gods, and justice to men.

His mausoleum displayed uncommon magnificence: it was encompassed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which showed the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and the rest of the planets. For, so early as this king’s reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each consisting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and six hours.|| The spectator did not know which to admire most in this stately monument, whether the richness of its materials, or the genius and industry of the artists.

Uchoreus, one of the successors of Osymandyas, built the city of Memphis.¶ This city was 150 furlongs, or more than seven leagues in circum-

\* The footsteps of its old name (Mesraim) remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Mesre; by the testimony of Plutarch it was called Chemia, by an easy corruption of Chomia, and this for Cham or Ham. † Herod. l. ii. p. 99. Diod. l. i. p. 42. ‡ Diod. l. i.

p. 44, 45. § Three thousand two hundred myriads of minæ. || See Sir Isaac Newton’s Chronology, p. 30. ¶ Diod. p. 46.

ference, and stood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itself into several branches or streams. Southward from the city, he raised a lofty mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. These were faced with stone, and raised, near the city, by strong causeys; the whole designed to secure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incursions of the enemy. A city so advantageously situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was almost the key of the Nile, and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became soon the usual residence of the Egyptian kings. It kept possession of this honour, till Alexandria was built by Alexander the Great.

**Mæris.**—This king made the famous lake which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when strangers, called shepherd-kings, (Hycsos in the Egyptian language) from Arabia or Phœnicia, invaded and seized a great part of lower Egypt and Memphis itself; [A.M. 1920. Ant. J. C. 2084.] but upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes existed till the reign of Sesos-tris. These foreign princes governed about 260 years.

Under one of these princes, called Pharaoh in Scripture\* (a name common to all the kings of Egypt,) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah [A. M. 2084. Ant. J. C. 1920], who was exposed to great hazard, on account of her exquisite beauty, which reached the prince's ear, she was by him taken from Abraham, upon the supposition that she was not his wife, but only his sister.

Thethmosis, or Amosis, having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in lower Egypt. [A. M. 2179. Ant. J. C. 1825.]

Long after his reign, Joseph was brought a slave into Egypt, by some Ishmaelitish merchants; sold to Potiphar; and by a series of wonderful events, enjoyed the supreme authority, by his being raised to the chief employment of the kingdom. [A. M. 2276. Ant. J. C. 1728.] I shall pass over his history, as it is so universally known. But I must take notice of a remark of Justin (the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius,† an excellent historian of the Augustan age), viz. that Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, through envy, had sold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven‡ with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preserved, by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely caressed by the king.

Jacob also went into Egypt with his whole family, [A. M. 2298. Ant. J. C. 1706.] which met with the kindest treatment from the Egyptians, whilst Joseph's important services were fresh in their memories. But after his death say the Scriptures, 'there arose up a new king, which knew not Joseph.'§

[A. M. 2427. Ant. J. C. 1577.] Rameses-miamum, according to arch-

\* Gen. xii. 10—20.

+ Lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.

‡ Justin ascribes this gift of heaven to Joseph's skill in magical arts : Cum magicas ibi artes (Egypto sc.) solerti ingenio percepisset, &c. § Exod. i. 8.



bishop Usher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in Scripture. He reigned sixty-six years, and oppressed the Israelites in a most grievous manner. 'He set over them task-masters,\* to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities,† Pithom and Raamses—and the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.' This king had two sons, Amenophis and Busiris.

Amenophis, the eldest, succeeded him. [A. M. 2494. Ant. J. C. 1510.] He was the Pharaoh, under whose reign the Israelites departed out of Egypt, and was drowned in passing the Red Sea.

Father Tournemine makes Sesostris, of whom we shall speak immediately, the Pharaoh who raised the persecution against the Israelites, and oppressed them with the most painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given, by Diodorus, of this prince who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; so that we may place the memorable event of the passage of the Red Sea, under his son Pheron;‡ and the characteristic of impiety ascribed to him by Herodotus, greatly strengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have proposed to follow in this history, excuses me from entering into chronological discussions.

Diodorus, speaking of the Red Sea, has made one remark very worthy our observation:§ a tradition (says that historian) has been transmitted through the whole nation, from father to son, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the sea, so that its bottom was seen; and that a violent flow immediately after, brought back the waters to their former channel. It is evident, that the miraculous passage of Moses over the Red Sea is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purposely to admonish young students, not to slip over, in their perusal of authors, these precious remains of antiquity; especially when they bear, like this passage, any relating to religion.

Archbishop Usher says, that Amenophis left two sons, one called Scsothis or Sesostris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two sons Egyptus and Danaus.

Sesostris was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors that antiquity boasts of.||

His father, whether by inspiration, caprice, or, as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, formed a design of making his son a conqueror. This he set about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way. All the male children, born the same day with Sesostris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care bestowed on Sesostris, with whom they were brought up. He could not

\* Exod. i. 11, 13, 14. † Heb. urbes thesaurorum. LXX. urbes munitas. These cities were appointed to preserve, as in a store-house, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. Vatab.

‡ This name bears a great resemblance to Pharaoh, which was common to the Egyptian kings. § Lib. iii. p. 74. || Herod l. ii. cap. 102, 110. Diod. l. i. p. 48, 54.

possibly have given him more faithful ministers, nor officers who more zealously desired the success of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining with ease the toils of war. They were never suffered to eat till they had run, on foot or horseback, a considerable race. Hunting was their most common exercise.

Ælian remarks that Sesostris was taught by Mercury, who instructed him in politics, and the art of government. This Mercury, is he whom the Greeks called Trismegistus, i. e. thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almost every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear such evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who also was very famous amongst the Egyptians for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than he of whom we have been speaking. Jamblicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary with the Egyptians to affix the names of Hermes or Mercury to all the new books or inventions that were offered to the public.

When Sesostris was more advanced in years, his father sent him against the Arabians, in order to acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirst; and subdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youths educated with him attended him in all his campaigns.

Accustomed by this conquest to martial toils, he was next sent by his father to try his fortune westward. He invaded Libya, and subdued the greatest part of that vast country.

Sesostris.—During this expedition his father died. [A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.] and left him capable of attempting the greatest enterprises. He formed no less a design than that of the conquest of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he provided for his domestic security, in winning the hearts of his subjects by his generosity, justice, and a popular and obliging behaviour. He was no less studious to gain the affection of his officers and soldiers, whom he wished to be ever ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his service; persuaded that his enterprises would all be unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person by all the ties of esteem, affection, and interest. He divided the country into thirty-six governments (called *Nomi*), and bestowed them on persons of merit, and the most approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greatest bravery and reputation, and these were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had seventeen hundred of these officers, who were all capable of inspiring his troops with resolution, a love of discipline, and a zeal for the service of their prince. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Æthiopia, situated on the south of Egypt. He made it tributary; and obliged the nations of it to furnish him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail, and ordering it to ad-

vance to the Red Sea, made himself master of the isles and cities lying on the coasts of that sea. He himself heading his land army, over-ran and subdued Asia with amazing rapidity, and advanced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and in after-times Alexander himself had ever done; for he subdued the countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the Ocean. One may judge from hence how unable the more neighbouring countries were to resist him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, as well as Armenia and Cappadocia, were conquered. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, situated to the east of the Black Sea, where the Egyptian customs and manners have been ever since retained. Herodotus saw in Asia Minor, from one sea to the other, monuments of his victories. In several countries was read the following inscription engraven on pillars: 'Sesostris, king of kings and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.' Such pillars were found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, some nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the least resistance. This disparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The scarcity of provisions in Thrace stopped the progress of his conquests, and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumstance is observed in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preserving his acquisitions; but contenting himself with the glory of having subdued and despoiled so many nations; after having made wild havoc up and down the world for nine years, he confined himself almost within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footsteps of this new empire, either under himself or his successors.

He returned therefore laden with the spoils of the vanquished nations, dragging after him a numberless multitude of captives, and covered with greater glory than any of his predecessors; that glory I mean which employs so many tongues and pens in its praise; which consists in invading a great number of provinces in a hostile way, and is often productive of numberless calamities. He rewarded his officers and soldiers with a truly royal magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleasure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in such a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and easy repose, the just reward of their past toils.

With regard to himself, for ever careful of his own reputation, and still more of making his power advantageous to his subjects, he employed the repose which peace allowed him, in raising works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing his name; works, in which the art and industry of the workman was more admired, than the immense sums which had been expended on them.

A hundred famous temples, raised as so many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the first, as well as the most illustrious, testimonies of his victories; and he took care to publish in the inscriptions on them, that these mighty works had been completed

without burdening any of his subjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in these monuments of his conquests. The Scriptures take notice of something like this, where they speak of the buildings of Solomon.\* But he prided himself particularly in adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Pelusium, in acknowledgment of the protection which he fancied that god had bestowed on him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a design of destroying him in that city, with his wife and children, by setting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was, the raising, in every part of Egypt, a considerable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, in order that these might be a security for men and beasts during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the sea, he cut, on both sides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of provisions, and for the settling an easy correspondence between such cities as were most distant from one another. Besides the advantages of traffic, Egypt was, by these canals, made inaccessible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had so often harassed it by repeated incursions.

He did still more. To secure Egypt from the inroads of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eastern coast from Pelusium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of seven leagues.†

Sesostris might have been considered as one of the most illustrious and most boasted heroes of antiquity, had not the lustre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarnished by a thirst of glory, and a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at stated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occasion, he treated them with sufficient humanity and generosity. But when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he caused these princes to be harnessed to his car, four abreast, instead of horses; and valued himself upon his being thus drawn by the lords and sovereigns of other nations. What I am most surprised at, is, that Diodorus should rank this foolish and inhuman vanity among the most shining actions of this prince.

Being grown blind in his old age, he died by his own hands, after having reigned thirty-three years, and left his kingdom infinitely rich. His empire, nevertheless, did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there still remained, so low as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which showed the extent of Egypt under Sesostris,‡ and the immense tributes which were paid to it.§

I now go back to some facts which took place in this period, but which

\* 2 Chron. viii. 9. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work.

† 150 stadia, about 18 miles English. ‡ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

§ 'Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa—haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur'—inscribed on pillars, were read the tributes imposed on vanquished nations, which were not inferior to those now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.



were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history, and now I shall but barely mention them.

About the æra in question, [A. M. 2448,] the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the earth. The colony, which Cæcrops led out of Egypt, built twelve cities, or rather as many towns, of which he composed the kingdom of Athens.

We observed, that the brother of Sesostris, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a design to murder him, on his return to Egypt, after his conquests, [A. M. 2530.] But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly. He thereupon retired to Peloponnesus, where he seized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before, by Inachus.

[A. M. 2533.] Busiris, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the ancients for his cruelties, exercised his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile; and barbarously murdered all foreigners who landed in his country: this was probably during the absence of Sesostris.

About the same time, [A. M. 2549,] Cadmus brought from Syria into Greece, the invention of letters. Some pretend, that these characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned agree, that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were the same as the Hebraic;\* the Hebrews, who formed but a small nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, proves that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried only sixteen letters† into Greece, eight others being added afterwards.

I return to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order as Herodotus has assigned to them.

Pheron succeeded Sesostris in his kingdom [A. M. 2547, Ant. J. C. 1457,] but not in his glory. Herodotus relates but one action of his,‡ which shows how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince, enraged at the wild havoc which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

Proteus.§ He was of Memphis, where, in Herodotus's time, [A. M.

\* The reader may consult, on this subject, two learned dissertations of Abbe Renaudot, inserted in the second volume of *The History of the Academy of Inscriptions*.

† The sixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ, Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, i. e. upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, ζ, θ, φ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, η, ω, ξ, ψ.

‡ Herod. l. ii. c. lll. Diod. l. i. p. 54.

§ I don't think myself obliged to enter here into a discussion, which

2800, Ant. J. C. 1204,] his temple was still standing, in which was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger. It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had stolen, was driven by a storm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the strongest terms for his base perfidy and guilt, in stealing the wife of his host, and with her all the effects in his house. He added, that the only reason why he did not punish him with death (as his crime deserved) was, because the Egyptians were careful not to imbrue their hands in the blood of strangers: that he would keep Helen, with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to restore them to their lawful owner: that as for himself (Paris), he must either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was closely pursued by the Grecian army. The Greeks summoned the Trojans to surrender Helen, and with her all the treasures of which her husband had been plundered. The Trojans answered, that neither Helen, nor her treasures, were in their city. And indeed, was it at all likely, says Herodotus, that Priam, who was so wise an old prince, should choose to see his children and country destroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the just and reasonable satisfaction they desired? But it was to no purpose for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city: the Greeks being firmly persuaded that they were trifled with, persisted obstinately in their unbelief: the deity, continues the same historian, being resolved that the Trojans, by the total destruction of their city and empire, should teach the affrighted world this lesson: **THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS.** Menelaus, on his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who restored him Helen, with all her treasure. Herodotus proves, from some passages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

Rhampsinitus. What is related by Herodotus\* concerning the treasury built by this king, who was the richest of all his predecessors, and his descent into hell, has so much the air of romance and fiction, as to deserve no mention here.

would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of Archbishop Usher. This last supposes, with many other learned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king who was drowned in the Red Sea, whose reign must consequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, since it lasted thirty-three years. Should we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his son, there would still be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, was the immediate successor of the former; since Proteus lived at the time of the siege of Troy, which, according to Usher, was taken An. Mun. 2820. I know not whether his almost total silence on the Egyptian kings after Sesostris, was owing to his sense of this difficulty. I suppose a long interval to have occurred between Pheron and Proteus: accordingly Diodorus (lib. i. p. 54.) fills it up with a great many kings: and the same must be said of some of the following kings.

\* L. ii. c. 121—123.

Till the reign of this king, there had been some shadow, at least, of justice and moderation in Egypt: but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty usurped their place.

Cheops and Cephren.\* These two princes, who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seem to have vied with each other which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned fifty years, and his brother Cephren fifty-six years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offering of sacrifices under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppressed their subjects by employing them in the most grievous and useless works; and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude, and a boundless expense. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effect of the irreligion and merciless cruelty of those princes.

Mycerinus.† He was the son of Cheops, but of a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believed himself set over them for no other purpose but to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, alleviated their misery, and thought himself not so much the master as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally conclude, that so prudent and humane a conduct must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that in the city of Sais, exquisite odours were burnt, in the day-time, at the tomb of this princess; and that during the night a lamp was kept constantly burning.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, and enquired the reason, why so long and prosperous a reign had been granted to his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious, whilst his own, which he had endeavoured so carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was possible for him to do, should be so short and unhappy; he was answered, that these were the very causes of it, it being the will of the gods to oppress and afflict Egypt during the space of 150 years, as a punishment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was to have been like those of the preceding monarchs, of fifty years' continuance, was shortened on

\* Herod. l. ii. c. 124, 126. Diod. l. i. p. 57. † Herod. l. ii. p. 139, 140. Diod. p. 58.

account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewise built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his father.

Asychis.\* He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbade a son to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of security for it. The law added, that in case the son took no care to redeem his father's body by restoring the loan, both himself and his children should be deprived for ever of the rights of sepulture.

He valued himself for having surpassed all his predecessors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto seen. The following inscription, by its founder's order was engraved upon it. COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE; WHICH I AS MUCH EXCEL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS.†

If we suppose the six preceding reigns (the exact duration of some of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to comprise one hundred and seventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I place a few circumstances related in Holy Scripture.

Pharaoh,‡ king of Egypt, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of Israel; [A. M. 2991. Ant. J. C. 1013.] who received her in that part of Jerusalem called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.

Sesach or Shishak, otherwise called Sesonchis.

It was to him that Jeroboam fled,§ to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. [A. M. 3026. Ant. J. C. 978.] He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jerusalem, when, putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

This Sesach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, [A. M. 3033. Ant. J. C. 971.] marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the Lord. He came with twelve hundred chariots of war,|| and sixty thousand horse. He had brought numberless multitudes of people who were all Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians.¶ He made himself master of all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king and the princes of Israel having humbled themselves, and implored the protection of the God of Israel, God told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that, because they humbled themselves, he would not utterly destroy them as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sesach: in order 'that they might know the difference of his service, and the service of the kingdoms of the country.'\*\* Sesach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, 'and even also the 300 shields of gold which Solomon had made.'

\* Herod. l. ii. c. 136. † The remainder of the inscription, as we find it in Herodotus, is—for men plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks (*πλίνθους εἵρυσαν*) out of the mud which stuck to them, and gave me this form. ‡ 1 Kings, iii. 1. § 1 Kings, xi. 40. and xii. || 2 Chron. xii. 1—9. ¶ The English version of the Bible says, The Libyans, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians. \*\* Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.



Zerah,\* king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time [A. M. 3063. Ant. J. C. 941], made war upon Asa king of Judah. His army consisted of a million of men and three hundred chariots of war. Asa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served: 'Lord,' says he, 'it is nothing for thee to help whether with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude; O Lord, thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee.' A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and all were irrevocably defeated, being 'destroyed before the Lord, and before his host.'

Anysis.†—He was blind, and under his reign

Sabachus king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt, with a numerous army, and possessed himself of it. He reigned with great clemency and justice. Instead of putting to death such criminals as had been sentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the causeys on which the respective cities to which they belonged were situated. He built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Bubastus, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia, and left the throne of Egypt to Anysis, who, during this time, had concealed himself in the fens [A. M. 3279. Ant. J. C. 725]. It is believed that this Sabachus was the same with SO, whose aid was implored by Hoshea, king of Israel, against Shalmanaser king of Assyria.‡

Sethon.—He reigned fourteen years.

He is the same with Sevechus [A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719], the son of Sabaeon, or So, the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over Egypt. This prince, so far from discharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest, causing himself to be consecrated high priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he, therefore, was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of the revenues of such lands as his predecessors had given them.

He was soon made sensible of their resentment in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Senacharib (so Herodotus calls this prince), king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high priest of Vulcan being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others, who were the dregs of the populace, joined him;

\* Chron. xiv. 9—13.

+ Herod l. ii. cap. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 59.

‡ 2 Kings, xvii. 4.

and with this handful of men, he marched to Pelusium, where Senacharib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious multitude of rats entered the camp of the Assyrians, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings, and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly, and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words to be inscribed thereon: 'Let the man who beholds me learn to reverence the gods.'

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of Kings, chap. xvii. We there see that Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and made himself master of all the other cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem, his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of his opposition, and the monitions of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies, being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrian in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havoc in the camp of the Assyrians; destroyed a hundred fourscore and five thousand men by fire and sword; and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless, the footsteps of this history, though so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from an historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted, seemingly, with such prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken, its territories plundered, and its inhabitants of all ages and sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c. chapters of his prophecy.

Archbishop Usher and Dean Prideaux suppose that it was at this period that the ruin of the famous city No-Amon\* spoken of by the pro-

\* The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes, surnamed Diospolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Ammon is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which also was called No-Amon.

phet Nahum, happened. That prophet says, that 'she was carried away'—that 'her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets'—that the enemy 'cast lots for her honourable men,' and that 'all her great men were bound in chains.'\* He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city when Egypt and Ethiopia 'were her strength;' which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, and is contradicted by some learned men. It is sufficient for me to have hinted it to the reader.

Till the reign of Sethon,† the Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; allowing three generations to a hundred years. They counted the like number of pries's and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests showed Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden colossal statues of these Piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves as it were in a remote antiquity, to which no other people could dare to pretend.

Tharaca.‡—He it was who joined Sethon with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem [A. M. 3299. Ant. J. C. 705]. After the death of Sethon, who had sitten fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

#### TWELVE KINGS.

At last twelve of the principal noblemen,§ conspiring together, seized upon the kingdom [A. M. 3319. Ant. J. C. 635], and divided it amongst themselves into as many parts. It was agreed by them that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should attempt to invade or seize the dominions of another. They thought it necessary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the most dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had foretold that he among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, should gain the sovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmost harmony; and to leave a famous monument of their concord to posterity, they jointly, and at a common expense, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building consisting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have spoken elsewhere of this labyrinth.

One day as the twelve kings were assisting at a solemn and periodical sacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the priests, having presented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting, when

\* Nahum, iii. 8, 10.      † Herod. l. ii. cap. 142.      ‡ Afric. apud Syncel. p. 74.      Diod. l. p. 59.      § Herod. l. ii. cap. 147, 152.

Psammetichus,\* without any design, supplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet (for each wore one), and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident struck the rest of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above-mentioned. They thought it therefore necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, and therefore, with one consent, banished him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Psammetichus had passed some years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice that brazen men were landed in Egypt. These were Grecian soldiers, Carians, and Ionians, who had been cast upon the coasts of Egypt by a storm, and were completely covered with helmets, cuirasses, and other arms of brass. Psammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had answered him, that he should be succoured by brazen men from the sea-coast. He did not doubt but the prediction was now fulfilled. He, therefore, made a league with these strangers; engaged them with great promises to stay with him; privately levied other forces, and put these Greeks at their head; when giving battle to these eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained sole possessor of Egypt.

[A. M. 3334. Ant. J. C. 670.]—Psammetichus.—As this prince owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians,† he settled them in Egypt (from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded); and by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country. By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that era, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priest, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammetichus was settled on the throne, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on the subject of the boundaries of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord; as afterwards it was between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government,‡ thought it high time for him to look to his frontier, and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by Diodorus;§ that the Egyptians provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself, in preference to them, quitted the service, to the number of upwards of two hundred thousand

\* He was one of the twelve.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 153, 154.

‡ This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh king of Judah.

§ Lib. i. p. 61.



men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

Be this as it will, Psammetichus entered Palestine,\* where his career was stopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him so much trouble, that he was forced to besiege it twenty-nine years before he could take it. This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians having siezed it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was their strongest bulwark on that side. Nor could Sennacherib enter Egypt, till he had first made himself master of this city,† which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. The Assyrians had possessed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long siege just now mentioned, that the Egyptians recovered it.

In this period,‡ the Scythians leaving the banks of the Palus Mæotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and deprived him of all Upper Asia, of which they kept possession during twenty-eight years. They pushed their conquests in Syria, as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Psammetichus marching out to meet them, prevailed so far, by his presents and entreaties, that they advanced no farther, and by that means delivered his kingdom from these dangerous enemies.

Till his reign, the Egyptians had imagined themselves to be the most ancient nation upon earth.§ Psammetichus was desirous to prove this himself, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpose. He commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up (in the country) in a hovel, that was to be kept continually shut. They were committed to the care of a shepherd (others say, of nurses, whose tongues were cut out), who was to feed them with the milk of goats; and was commanded not to suffer any person to enter into this hut, nor himself to speak even a single word in the hearing of these children. At the expiration of two years, as the shepherd was one day coming into the hut to feed these children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foster-father, *beccos, beccos*. The shepherd surprised to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, sent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he might himself be a witness to the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began, in his presence, to stammer out the sounds above mentioned. Nothing now was wanting but to ascertain what nation it was that used this word; and it was found, that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themselves, notwithstanding their jealousy of it, and the many ages they had possessed this glory, were obliged to resign to them. As goats were brought to these children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and historians do not say that they were deaf; some are of opinion that they might have learnt the word *bec*, or *beccos*, by mimicking the cry of those creatures.

\* Herod. ii. 157. † Isa. xx. 1. ‡ Herod. i. c. 105. § Herod. i. ii. c. 2, 3.

Psammetichus died in the 24th year of Josias king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Nechao.

[A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616.] Nechao.\* This prince is often mentioned in Scripture under the name of Pharaoh-Necho.†

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red-Sea by cutting a canal from one to the other. The distance which separates them is at least a thousand stadia.‡ After a hundred and twenty thousand workmen had lost their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to desist; the oracle which had been consulted by him, having answered, that this new canal would open a passage to the barbarians (for so the Egyptians called all other nations) to invade Egypt.

Nechao was more successful in another enterprise.§ Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his service, having sailed from the Red Sea in order to discover the coasts of Africa, went successfully round it; and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. It was made twenty-one centuries before Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese (by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497), found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean.

The Babylonians and Medes having destroyed Nineveh,|| and with it the empire of the Assyrians, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. Josiah, king of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his route through Judea, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view, he raised all the forces of his kingdom, and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo (a city on this side Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and called Magdolus by Herodotus.) Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprise was not designed against him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertaken this war in the name of God, who was with him: that for this reason he advised Josiah not to concern himself with this war, for fear lest it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons: he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea, would entirely ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him, and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

\* He is called Necho in the English version of the Scriptures. † Herod. l. ii. c. 158. ‡ Allowing 625 feet (or 125 geometrical paces) to each stadium, the distance will be 118 English miles and a little above one-third of a mile. Herodotus says, that this design was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Persian, B. ii. c. 158. § Herod. l. iv. c. 42. || Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 6. 2 Kings, xxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

Nebuchadnezzar, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Charchemish, a large city in that country; and securing to himself the possession of it by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent from it three months.

Being informed in his march homeward, that Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king at Jerusalem,\* without first asking his consent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria. The unhappy prince was no sooner arrived there than he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence pursuing his march, he came to Jerusalem, where he placed Eliakim (called by him Jehoiakim), another of Josiah's sons, upon the throne, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land, of a hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold.† This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

Herodotus,‡ mentioning this king's expedition and the victory gained by him at Magdolus§ (as he calls it), says that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor: this description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears besides from Scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, made himself master of this capital of Judea ; for he was there in person, when he gave the crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which in Hebrew signifies the Holy, clearly denotes the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux.||

[A.M. 3397. Ant. J.C. 607.]—Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing that, since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off the allegiance to him; and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, he therefore associated his son Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire, and sent him at the head of an army into those countries. This young prince van-

\* 2 Kings xxiii. 33, 35. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 4.

† The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent to 353*l.* 1*ls.* 10½*d.*, so that 100 talents, English      £    s.   d.  
money, make . . . . . 35,359 7 6

The gold talent, according to the same . . . . .	5,075	15	7½
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The amount of the whole tribute . . . £40,435 3 1½

‡ Lib. ii. c. 159. § Megiddo. || From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet Holy, and in the Old Testament was called Air Hakkodesh, *i. e.* the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed Jerusalem Kedusha, *i. e.* Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity's sake was omitted, and only Kedusha reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Kedusha, by a change in that dialect of sh into th, was made Kedu-tha; and Herodotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ *Kádutis*, or Cadytis.—Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. Part I. p. 80, 81, 8vo. edit.

quished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as Jeremiah had foretold.\* Thus he dispossessed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them,† from the little river‡ of Egypt to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Palestine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned sixteen years, left the kingdom to his son.

[A. M. 3404. Ant. J. C. 600.]—Psammis.—His reign was but of six years' duration;§ and history has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It was to this prince that the Eleans sent a splendid embassy, after having instituted the Olympic games. They had established all the regulations, and arranged every circumstance relating to them, with such care, that, in their opinion, nothing seemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itself could not find any fault with them. However, they did not desire so much, to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians,|| who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world. Accordingly, the king assembled the sages of his nation. After every thing had been heard which could be said in favour of this institution, the Eleans were asked, whether citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which answer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptians replied, that the rules of justice would have been more strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

[A. M. 3410. Ant. J. C. 594.]—Apries.—In Scripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra.¶ He succeeded his father Psammis, and reigned twenty-five years.

During the first years of his reign, he was as fortunate as any of his predecessors.\*\* He turned his arms against the island of Cyprus; besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and, as Herodotus informs us, swelled him with so much pride and infatuation, that he boasted it was not in the power of the gods themselves to de-throne him; so great was the idea he had formed to himself of the firm establishment of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant notions that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: 'My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.'†† But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his pro-

\* Jer. xvi. 2. † 2 Kings, xxiv. 7. ‡ This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in Scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which, running through the desert that lay betwixt those two nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far the land which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot extended. Gen. xv. 18. Josh. xv. 4. § Herod. l. ii. c. 160. || c. 160. ¶ Jer. xlv. 30.  
 \*\* Herod. l. ii. c. 161. Diod. l. i. p. 62. †† Ezek. xxix. 3.



phets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

Shortly after Hophra had ascended the throne, Zedekiah, king of Judah, sent an embassy, and concluded an alliance with him;\* and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity which he had taken to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbidden his people to have recourse to the Egyptians, or to put any confidence in that people; notwithstanding the repeated calamities which had ensued upon the various attempts which they had made to procure assistance from them; they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger, and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; which gave occasion to God's message to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah:† 'Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, not spirit; when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fail together.' But neither the prophet nor the king were heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch; who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonosor. But God, offended that a mortal had dared to intrude himself into his place, thus declared himself to another prophet: 'Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt. Speak and say, thus saith the Lord God, behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws,‡ &c. God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds, 'Behold I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee; the land of Egypt shall be desolate, and they shall know that I am the Lord, because he hath said, the river is mine, and I have made it.'§ The same prophet, in several succeeding chapters||, continues to foretel the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to these predictions. When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and saw Nabuchodonosor raise the siege of Jerusalem, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of short duration; for the Egyptians seeing the Chaldeans advancing, did not

\* Ezek. xvii. 15.

† Isa. xxi. 1, 3.

‡ Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, 4.

§ Ezek. xxix. 8, 9.

|| Chap. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii.

dare to encounter so numerous and well-disciplined an army. They, therefore, marched back into their own country,\* [A. M. 3416. Ant. J. C. 588] and left the unfortunate Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war in which they themselves had involved him. Nabuchodonosor again sat down before Jerusalem; took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

Many years after,† [A. M. 3430. Ant. J. C. 574] the chastisements with which God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra) began to fall upon him. For the Cyrenians, a Greek colony, which had settled in Africa, between Libya and Egypt, having seized upon and divided among themselves a great part of the country belonging to the Libyans, forced these nations, who were thus dispossessed by violence, to throw themselves into the arms of this prince, and implore his protection. Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya, to oppose the Cyrenians; but this army being defeated and almost cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya only to get it destroyed, and by that means to attain the power of governing his subjects without check or control. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to shake off the yoke of a prince whom they now considered as their enemy. But Apries, hearing of the rebellion, dispatched Amasis, one of his officers, to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance. But the moment Amasis began to address them, they placed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him king. Amasis having accepted the crown, staid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest, and bring him before him: but Paterbemis not being able to carry off Amasis from the midst of the rebel army, by which he was surrounded, was treated by Apries, at his return, in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never considered, that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commission. So barbarous an outrage, committed upon a person of such high distinction, exasperated the Egyptians so much that the greatest part of them joined the rebels, and the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which Amasis made himself master of the rest of his dominions.

The troubles which thus distracted Egypt afforded Nabuchodonosor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and it was God himself who inspired him with the resolution. This prince, who was the instrument of God's wrath (though he did not know it himself to be so) against a people whom he was resolved to chastise, had just before taken Tyre, where himself and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompense their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himself revealing his designs on this subject. There are few passages in Scripture more remarkable than this, or which give a clearer idea of the supreme authority which God exercises over

\* Jer. xxxvii. 6, 7.      † Herod. l. ii. c. 161, &c.      Died. l. i. p. 62.

all the princes and kingdoms of the earth : ‘ Son of man (says the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel), Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus : every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled : \* yet had he no wages, nor his army, † for the service he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God : Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour, wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God. ‡ Says another prophet : ‘ He shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace. § Thus shall he load himself with booty, and thus cover his own shoulders, and those of his fold, with all the spoils of Egypt.’ Noble expressions : which show the ease with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution ; and shift, like a garment, to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and clothe himself with it.

The king of Babylon, taking advantage therefore of the intestine divisions which the rebellion of Amasis had occasioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He subdued Egypt from Migdol, or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of the kingdom, as far as Syene, in the opposite extremity, where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devastation wherever he came, killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made such dreadful havoc in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis ; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

Apries || (Pharaoh-Hophra) now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea-coast, (probably on the side of Libya) ; and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, marched against Amasis, to whom he gave battle near Memphis ; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was He who had broken the power of Apries, which was once so formidable ;

\* The baldness of the heads of the Babylonians was owing to the pressure of their helmets ; and their peeled shoulders to their carrying baskets of earth and large pieces of timber, to join Tyre to the Continent. Baldness was itself a badge of slavery ; and joined to the peeled shoulders, shows that the conqueror’s army sustained even the most servile labours in this memorable siege.

† For the better understanding of this passage, we are to know that Nabuchodonosor sustained incredible hardships at the siege of Tyre ; and that when the Tyrians saw themselves closely attacked, the nobles conveyed themselves and their richest effects on ship-board, and retired into other islands. So that when Nabuchodonosor took the city, he found nothing to recompense the toil which he had undergone in this siege.—S. Jerom. ‡ Chap. xxix. 18, 19, 20. § Jerem. xliii. 12.

|| Herod. l. ii. c. 163, 169. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

and put the sword into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty prince. 'I am,' said he, 'against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms, which were strong, but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.'\* — 'but I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword into his hand.'† 'And they shall know that I am the Lord.'‡

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors:§ Pathros, Zoan, No, (called in the Vulgate Alexandria), Sin Aven, Phibeseth, &c.||

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end of the king, who was to be delivered up to his enemies. 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.'¶

Lastly he declares, that during forty years the Egyptians shall be oppressed with every species of calamity, and be reduced to so deplorable a state, 'That there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.'\*\* The event verified this prophecy, which was gradually accomplished. Soon after the expiration of these forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Persian empire, to which its kings, though natives of the country, were tributary, and thus the accomplishment of the prediction began. It was completely fulfilled on the death of Nectanebus, the last king of Egyptian extraction, A. M. 3654. Since that time Egypt has constantly been governed by foreigners. For since the ruin of the Persian monarchy, it has been subject successively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamelukes, and lastly to the Turks, who possess it to this day.

God was not less punctual†† in the accomplishment of his prophecies, with regard to such of his own people as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jerusalem, and had forced Jeremiah along with them. The instant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Tahpanhes (or Tanis), the prophet, after having hid in their presence (by God's command) stones in a grotto, which was near the king's palace, declared to them, that Nabuchodonosor should soon arrive in Egypt, and that God would establish his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waste the whole kingdom, and carry fire and sword into all places; that themselves should fall into the hand of these cruel enemies, when one part would be massacred, and the rest led captive to Babylon; that only a very small number should escape the common desolation, and be at last restored to their country. All these prophecies had their accomplishment in the appointed time.

Amasis.—After the death of Apries, [A. M. 3435. Ant. J. C. 569.] Amasis became peaceable possessor of Egypt, and reigned over it forty years. He was, according to Plato,‡‡ a native of the city of Sais.

\* Ezek. xxx. 22. † Ezek. xxx. 24. ‡ Ezek. xxx. 25. § Ver. 14, 17.

|| I have given the names of these towns as they stand in our English version. In the margin are printed against Zoan, Tanis; against Sin, Pelusium; against Aven, Heliopolis; against Phibeseth, Pubastum, (Bubastus); and by these last names they are mentioned in the original French of M. Rollin. ¶ Jerem. xlv. 30. \*\* Ezek. xxx. 13.

†† Jerem. chap. xliii, xlv.

‡‡ In Tim.







*Amasis declared King of Egypt.*

As he was but of mean extraction,\* he met with no respect in the beginning of his reign, but was only contemned by his subjects: he was not insensible of this; but nevertheless thought it his interest to subdue their tempers by management and address, and win their affections by gentleness and reason. He had a golden cistern, in which himself and those persons who were admitted to his table, used to wash their feet: he melted it down, and had it cast into a statue, and then exposed the new god to public worship. The people hasted in crowds to pay their adoration to the statue. The king having assembled the people, informed them of the vile uses to which this statue had once been put, which nevertheless was now the object of their religious prostrations: the application was easy, and had the desired success; the people thenceforward paid the king all the respect that is due to majesty.

He always used to devote the whole morning to public business,† to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils; the rest of the day was given to pleasure: and as Amasis, in hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and seemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds, his courtiers took the liberty to represent to him the unsuitableness of such a behaviour; when he answered, that it was as impossible for the mind to be always serious and intent upon business, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town to enter their names in a book, kept by the magistrate for that purpose, with their profession, and manner of living. Solon inserted this custom among his laws.

He built many magnificent temples, especially at Sais, the place of his birth. Herodotus admired especially a chapel there, formed of one single stone, which was twenty-one cubits‡ in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimensions within were not quite so large: it had been brought from Elephantina, and two thousand men had employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

Amasis had a great esteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted such of them as were desirous of settling in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, so famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expense was computed at three hundred talents,§ Amasis furnished the Delphians with a very considerable sum towards discharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife from among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendship with Amasis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, was initiated in all the mysteries

\* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 172.

† Herod. lib. ii. cap. 73.

‡ The cubit is one foot and almost ten inches. Vide supra.

§ Or, 56,125l. sterling.

of the country ; and instructed by the priests in whatever was most abstruse and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered so great a part of the world, Egypt doubtless was subdued, like the rest of the provinces ; and Xenophon positively declares this in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*, or institution of that prince.\* Probably, after that the forty years of desolation, which had been foretold by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to regain strength, Amasis shook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

Accordingly we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

[A. M. 3479. Ant. J. C. 525.] Psammenitus.—Cambyses, after having gained a battle, pursued the enemy to Memphis ; besieged the city, and soon took it : however, he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honourable pension ; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to re-ascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months : all Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this history will be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyses.

Here ends the succession of the Egyptian kings. From this æra the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects, in the several periods to which they belong.

\* Ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, p. 5. edit. Hutchinsoni.



## BOOK THE SECOND.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

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### PART THE FIRST.

#### CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

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#### SECTION I.

CARTHAGE FORMED AFTER THE MODEL OF TYRE, OF WHICH THAT CITY WAS A COLONY.

THE Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but for their manners, language, customs, laws, religion, and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the sequel. They spoke the same language with the Tyrians, and these the same with the Canaanites and Israelites, that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at least a language, which was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly some particular meaning; Thus Hanno signified gracious,\* bountiful: Dido, amiable, or well beloved; Sophonisba, one who keeps faithfully her husband's secrets. From a spirit of religion, they likewise joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. Hannibal, which answers to Hananias, signifies Baal, (or the Lord) has been gracious to me. Asdrubal, answering to Azarias, implies, the Lord will be our succour. It is the same with other names, Adherbal, Maharbal, Mastanabal, &c. The word Pœni, from which Punic is derived, is the same with Phœni, or Phœnicians, because they came originally from Phœnicia. In the Pœnulus of Plautus, is a scene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exercised the learned.†

But the strict union which always subsisted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is still more remarkable. When Cambyses had resolved to make war upon the latter,‡ the Phœnicians, who formed the chief strength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not serve him against their countrymen; and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aside his design. The Carthaginians, on their side, were never

\* Bochart, Part II. l. ii. c. 16. † The first scene of the fifth act, translated into Latin by Petit. in the second book of his Miscellanies.

‡ Herod. lib. iii. c. 17—19.

forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin, They sent regularly every year to Tyre, a ship freighted with presents,\* as a quit-rent or acknowledgement paid to their ancient country; and an annual sacrifice was offered to the tutelar gods of Tyre by the Carthaginians who considered them as their protectors likewise. They never failed to send thither the first fruits of their revenues; nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to secure from Alexander (who was then besieging their city) what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, sent them to Carthage; where, though at a time when the inhabitants of the latter were involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with such a kindness and generosity as might be expected from the most tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted testimonies of a warm and sincere gratitude, do a nation more honour, than the greatest conquests and the most glorious victories.

## SECT. II.—THE RELIGION OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

It appears from several passages of the history of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indispensable duty, to begin and end all their enterprises with the worship of the gods. Hamilcar,† father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in a hostile manner, offered up a sacrifice to the gods; and his son treading in his steps, before he left Spain, and marched against Rome, went as far as Cadiz in order to pay the vows which he had made to Hercules, and to offer up new ones, in case that god should be propitious to him. After the battle of Cannæ,‡ when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them, above all things, the offering up a solemn thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for the several victories he had obtained. ‘*Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates diis immortalibus agi habetique.*’

Neither did individuals alone pride themselves upon displaying, on every occasion, this religious care to honour the deity; but it evidently was the genius and disposition of the whole nation.

Polybius has transmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, son of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians,§ in which the great respect and veneration of the latter for the deity, and their inherent persuasion that the gods engage in, and preside over, human affairs, and particularly over the solemn treaties made in their name and presence, are strongly displayed. Mention is therein made of five or six different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a public instrument, such as a treaty of peace concluded between two nations. I will here present my reader with the very words of the historian, as it will give some idea of the Carthaginian theology. ‘This treaty was concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the *dæmon* or genius (*δαίμωνος*) of the

\* Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3.

† Liv. l. xxlii. n. 1.

‡ Liv. l. xxi. n. 1. Ibid. n. 21.

§ L. vii. p. 502.

Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus ; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune ; in the presence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians ; and of the sun, the moon, and the earth ; in the presence of the rivers, the meads and waters ; in the presence of all those gods who possess Carthage.\* What should we now say to an instrument of this kind, in which the tutelar angels and saints of a kingdom should be introduced ?

The Carthaginians had two deities to whom they paid a more particular worship, and who deserve to have some mention made of them in this place.

The first was the goddess Cœlestis, called likewise Urania, the same with the moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain : that very virgin Cœlestis, says Tertullian,\* the promiser of rain, ‘Ista ipsa Virgo Cœlestis pluviarum pollicitatrix.’ Tertullian, speaking of this goddess and of Esculapius, makes the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the same time very glorious to the cause of Christianity ; declaring, that any Christian who may first come, shall oblige these false gods to confess publicly, that they are but devils ; and consenting that this Christian shall be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. ‘Nisi se dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.’ St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. ‘What is now,’ says he, ‘become of Cœlestis, whose empire was once so great in Carthage ?† This was doubtless the same deity, whom Jeremiah‡ calls the queen of heaven ; and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women, that they addressed their vows, burnt incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands ; ‘ut faciant placentas reginæ cœli ;’ and from whom they boasted their having received all manner of blessings, whilst they regularly paid her this worship ; whereas, since they had failed in it, they had been oppressed with misfortunes of every kind.

The second deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whose honour human sacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in Scripture by the name of Moloch ; and this worship had passed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a passage from Sanchoniathon, which shows that the kings of Tyre, in great dangers, used to sacrifice their sons to appease the anger of the gods ; and that one of them, by this action, procured himself divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the name of the planet Saturn ; to this doubtless was owing the fable of Saturn’s devouring his own children. Private persons, when they were desirous of averting any great calamity, took the same method ; and, in imitation of their princes, were so very superstitious, that such as had no children, purchased those of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of such a sacrifice. This custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Israelites borrowed it, though forbidden expressly by Heaven. At first, these children were inhumanly burnt, either in a fiery furnace, like those

\* Apolog. c. xxiii. † In Psalm xcvi. ‡ Jer. vii. 18. and xlv. 17—25.

in the valley of Hinnon, so often mentioned in Scripture ; or enclosed in a flaming statue of Saturn. The cries of these unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noise of drums and trumpets.\* Mothers made it a merit.† and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous spectacle with dry eyes, and without so much as a groan ; and if a tear or a sigh stole from them, the sacrifice was less acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely lost. This strength of mind,‡ or rather savage barbarity, was carried to such excess, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kisses, to hush the cries of their children ; lest, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midst of tears, it should be displeasing to the god : ‘ Blanditiis et osculis comprimebant vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur.’§ They afterwards contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, as appears from several passages of Scripture, in which they frequently perished.

The Carthaginians retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods,|| till the ruin of their city:¶ an action which ought to have been called a sacrilege rather than a sacrifice. ‘ Sacrilegium verius quam sacrum.’ It was suspended only for some years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I. king of Persia, who forbade them the offering up of human sacrifices, and the eating the flesh of dogs ; but they soon resumed this horrid practice,\*\* since, in the reign of Xerxes, the successor to Darius, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, among other conditions of peace which he enjoined them, inserted this article, viz. ‘ That no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn.’ And, doubtless, the practice of the Carthaginians, on this very occasion, made Gelon use

\* Plut. de superst. p. 171. † Παριστήκει δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἄτεγκτος καὶ ἀστένακτος, &c. The cruel and pitiless mother stood by as an unconcerned spectator ; a groan or a tear falling from her, would have been punished by a fine ; and still the child must have been sacrificed.—Plut. de superstitione.

‡ Tertul. in Apolog.

§ Minut. Felix.

|| Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5.

¶ It appears from Tertullian's Apology, that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa long after the ruin of Carthage. ‘ Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbratricibus scelerum votivit crucibus exposuit, teste militia, patriæ nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus illi, proconsuli functa est,’ i. e. ‘ Children were publicly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses, raised to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors of this execution at the command of this proconsul.’—Tertull. Apolog. c. 9. Two learned men are at variance about the proconsul, and the time of his government. Salmasius confesses his ignorance of both ; but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for ‘ proconsulatum,’ reads, ‘ proconsulem Tiberii,’ and thinks Tertullian, when he writ his Apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian was then recent, and probably the witnesses of it had not been long dead. \*\* Plut de sera vindic. deorum, p. 552.



this precaution. For during the whole engagement,\* which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods sacrifices of living men, who were thrown in great numbers on a flaming pile; and seeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himself rushed into it, in order that he might not survive his own disgrace, and to extinguish, says St. Ambrose, speaking of this action, with his own blood this sacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of service to him.†

In times of pestilence‡ they used to sacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compassion in the most cruel enemies; thus seeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itself; and endeavouring to appease the gods by the most shocking barbarity.

Diodorus relates an instance of this cruelty which strikes the reader with horror.§ At the time that Agathocles was just going to besiege Carthage, its inhabitants seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the just anger of Saturn, because that, instead of offering up children nobly born, who were usually sacrificed to him, there had been fraudulently substituted in their stead, children of slaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed to Saturn; besides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a sense of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily sacrificed themselves. Diodorus adds, that there was a brazen statue of Saturn, the hands of which were turned downward; so that when a child was laid on them, it dropped immediately into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, says Plutarch,|| be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? Religion, says this judicious author,¶ is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man, and injurious to the deity, I mean impiety and superstition. The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of a terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods: whilst superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes. Had it not been better, says he farther, for the Carthaginians to have had originally a Critias, or a Diagoras, who were open and undisguised atheists, for their lawgivers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion? Could

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 167. † ‘In ipsos quos adolebat sese præcipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore suo extingueret, quos sibi nihil profuisse cognoverat.’—S. Amb.

‡ ‘Cum peste laborarent, cruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant, et impuberes (quæ ætas etiam hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vita dii maxime rogari solent.’—Justin. l. xviii. c. 6. The Gauls as well as Germans used to sacrifice men, if Dionysius and Tacitus may be credited.

§ L. xx. p. 756.

|| De superstitione, p. 169—171.

¶ Idem, in Camill. p. 132.

the Typhons and the giants (the avowed enemies of the gods), had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?

Such were the sentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worship. One would indeed scarce believe that mankind were capable of such madness and frenzy. Men do not generally of themselves entertain ideas so destructive of all that nature consider as most sacred, as to sacrifice, to murder, their children with their own hands, and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Sentiments so unnatural and barbarous, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by the most civilized, by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans, and consecrated by custom during a long series of ages, can have been inspired by him only who was a murderer from the beginning; and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, misery, and perdition of man.

### SECT. III.—FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

The government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the most consummate wisdom; and it is with reason that Aristotle\* ranks this republic in the number of those that were had in the greatest esteem by the ancients, and which were fit to serve as a model for others. He grounds his opinion on a reflection, which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to his time (that is, upwards of five hundred years), no considerable sedition had disturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppressed the liberty of that state. Indeed, mixed governments, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences; either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or into the oppression of the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itself, under Sylla and Cæsar. It is therefore giving Carthage the highest praise, to observe, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to shun, during so long a series of years, two rocks that are so dangerous, and on which others so often split.

It were to be wished that some ancient author had left us an accurate and regular description of the customs and laws of this famous republic. For want of such assistance, we can only give our readers a confused and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the several passages which lie scattered up and down in authors. Christopher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular, and his work† has been of great service to me.

The government of Carthage,‡ like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another. These authorities were, that of the two supreme

\* De rep. lib. ii. c. 11.

† It is entitled, 'Carthago, sive Carthaginiensium respublica, &c. Francofurti ad Oderam, ann. 1664.'

‡ Polyb. l. iv. p. 493.

magistrates, called Suffetes;\* that of the Senate; and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of One Hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

## THE SUFFETES.

The power of the Suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome.† In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls, because they exercised the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate;‡ in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and collected the votes;§ and they likewise presided in all debates on matters of importance. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs: they sometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of Suffetes expired, they were made prætors, which was a considerable office, since, besides conferring upon them the privilege of presiding in some causes, it also empowered them to propose and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the public revenues, as appears from what Livy|| relates concerning Hannibal on this head, and which I shall take notice of in the sequel.

## THE SENATE.

The Senate, composed of persons who were venerable on account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and especially their merit, formed the council of state; and were, if I may use that expression, the soul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known; it must, however, have been very great, since a hundred were selected from it to form a separate assembly, of which I shall immediately have occasion to speak. In the senate, all affairs of consequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is seen on many occasions.

When the sentiments and votes were unanimous, the senate decided supremely, and there lay no appeal from it.¶ When there was a division, and the senate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then laid before the people, on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will easily perceive the great wisdom of this regulation; and how happily it was adapted to crush factions, to produce harmony, and to enforce and corroborate good counsels; such an assem-

\* This name is derived from a word, which with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, signifies judges.—Shophetim.

† ‘Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini regis creabantur.’—Corn. Nep. in vita Annibalis, c. 7. The great Hannibal was one of the Suffetes.

‡ ‘Senatum itaque Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt.’ Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.

§ ‘Cum Suffetes ad jus dicendum consedisent.’ Id. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

|| L. xxxiii. n. 46, 47.

¶ Arist. loc. cit.

bly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Of this we have a memorable instance in Polybius.\* When after the loss of the battle fought in Africa, at the end of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victor were read in the senate; Hannibal, observing that one of the senators opposed them, represented in the strongest terms, that as the safety of the republic lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This, doubtless, laid the foundation, in the infancy of the republic, of the senate's power, and raised its authority to so great a height. And the same author observes,† in another place, that whilst the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and was successful in all its enterprises.

#### THE PEOPLE.

It appears from every thing related hitherto, that even so low as Aristotle's time, who gives so beautiful a picture, and bestows so noble an eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people spontaneously left the care of public affairs, and the chief administration of them, to the senate: and this it was which made the republic so powerful. But things changed afterwards. For the people, grown insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that they owed these blessings to the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of having a share in the government, and arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions; and this Polybius assigns as one of the chief causes the ruin of Carthage.

#### THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HUNDRED.

This was a body composed of a hundred and four persons; though often, for brevity's sake, they are called only the Hundred. These, according to Aristotle, were the same in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were instituted to balance the power of the nobles and senate: but with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and continued in office but a year; whereas these were perpetual, and were upwards of a hundred. It is believed that these *Centumviri* are the same with the hundred judges mentioned by Justin,‡ [A. M. 3609. A. Carth. 487.] who were taken out of the senate, and appointed to inquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which, by its engrossing the chief employments both of the state and the army, had thereby the sole direction and management of all affairs, gave occasion to this establishment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilst the armies were in the field, was almost boundless and absolute; but, by this institution, it became subject to the laws, by the obligation their

\* L. xv. p. 706, 707.

† Polyb. l. vi. p. 494.

‡ L. xix. c. ii.



generals were under, of giving an account of their actions before these judges on their return from the campaign. ‘*Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legesque respicerent.*’\* Of these hundred and four judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest; but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themselves. They also had the power of choosing those who composed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons of uncommon merit; and it was not judged proper to annex any salary or reward to it; the single motive of the public good being thought a tie sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty. Polybius,† in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, distinguishes clearly two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage, were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men (ἐκτῆς Γερουσίας); so he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the senate (ἐκ τῆς Συγκλήτου). Livy mentions only the fifteen of the senators;‡ but, in another place, he names the old men; and tells us, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate. ‘*Carthaginensis—Oratores ad pacem pretendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos concilium, maximeque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.*’§

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom and the justest harmony of parts, degenerate, however insensibly, into disorder and the most destructive licentiousness. These judges, who by the lawful execution of their power were a terror to transgressors, and the great pillars of justice, abusing their almost unlimited authority, became so many petty tyrants. We shall see this verified in the history of the great Hannibal, who, during his prætorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his influence to reform so horrid an abuse [A. M. 3082. A. Carth. 682]; and made the authority of these judges, which before was perpetual, only annual, about two hundred years from the first founding the tribunal of the One Hundred.

#### DEFECTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

Aristotle, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two great defects in it, both which, in his opinion,

\* Justin. l. xix.

† L. x. p. 824. edit. Gronov.

‡ L. xxvi. n. 51. L. xxx. n. 16. § M. Rollin might have taken notice of some civil officers who were established at Carthage, with a power like that of the censors of Rome to inspect the manners of the citizens. The chief of these officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty. ‘*Erat præterea cum eo (Amilcare) adolescens illustris et formosus Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius quam par erat, ab Amilcare, loquebantur esse.*’—Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.

are repugnant to the views of a wise lawgiver and the maxims of sound policy.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employments, which was considered at Carthage as a proof of uncommon merit. But Aristotle thinks this practice highly prejudicial to the public welfare. For, says this author, a man possessed but of one employment, is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; because affairs are then examined with greater care, and sooner dispatched. We never see, continues our author, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit: whereas the bestowing of them on one man too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference; and always fills others with jealousy, discontent, and murmurs.

The second defect taken notice of by Aristotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain income was required (besides merit and noble birth). By which means, poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit, which he considers as a great evil in a government. For then, says he, as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money is all-powerful, because all things are attained by it; the admiration and desire of riches seize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employments, they seem to have a right to reimburse themselves.

There is not, I believe, one instance, in all antiquity, to show that employments, either in the state or the courts of justice, were sold. The expense therefore, which Aristotle talks of here to raise men to preferments in Carthage, must doubtless be understood of the presents that were given in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice as Polybius observes, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was judged a disgrace.\* It is, therefore, no wonder that Aristotle should condemn a practice whose consequences, it is very plain, may prove fatal to a government.

But in case he pretended that the chief employments of a state ought to be equally accessible to the rich and the poor, as he seems to insinuate; his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wisest republics; for these, without any way demeaning or aspersing poverty have thought that, on this occasion, the preference ought to be given to riches; because it is to be presumed that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler sentiments, are more out of the reach of corruption, and less liable to commit base actions; and that even the state of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the government, more disposed to maintain peace and order in it, and more interested in suppressing whatever may tend to sedition and rebellion.

Aristotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleased with a custom that prevailed there, viz. of sending from time to time colonies into different countries; and in this manner procuring

\* Παρὰ Καρχηδονίους οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς κέρδος.—Poly. vi. 497.

its citizens commodious settlements. This provided for the necessities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the state: and it disburdened Carthage of multitudes of lazy, indolent people, who were its disgrace, and often proved dangerous to it: it prevented commotions and insurrections, by thus removing such persons as commonly occasion them; and who being ever discontented under their present circumstances are always ready for innovations and tumults.

#### SECT. IV.—TRADE OF CARTHAGE, THE FIRST SOURCE OF ITS WEALTH AND POWER.

Commerce, strictly speaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its industry, and its peculiar and predominant characteristic. It formed the greatest strength and the chief support of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm that the power, the conquests, the credit, and glory of the Carthaginians, all flowed from their commerce. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and stretching out their arms eastward and westward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world, and wafted it to the coast of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the straits and pillars of Hercules. They sailed to all countries, in order to buy at a cheap rate the superfluities of every nation; which, by the want of others, became necessities; and these they sold to them at the dearest rates. From Egypt the Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, sails, and cables for ships; from the coast of the Red Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones; from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, and divers curious and exquisite works of art: in a word, they fetched, from various countries, all things that can supply the necessities, or are capable of contributing to the convenience, the luxury, and the delights of life. They brought back from the western parts of the world, in return for the articles carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper: by the sale of these various commodities, they enriched themselves at the expense of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was so much the surer as it was spontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themselves lords of the sea; the band which held the east, the west, and south together; and the necessary channel of their communication: so that Carthage rose to be the common city, and the centre of the trade, of all those nations which the sea separated from one another.

The most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed of engaging in trade. They applied themselves to it as industriously as the meanest citizens; and their great wealth did not make them less in love with the diligence, patience, and labour, which are necessary to augment it. To this they owed their empire of the sea, the splendour of their republic; their being able to dispute for the superiority with Rome itself; and their exalted pitch of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and subdue this haughty rival. In short, Rome, even when triumphant, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other

way than by depriving that city of the resources which it might still derive from its commerce, by which it had so long been enabled to resist the whole strength of that mighty republic.

However, it is no wonder that, as Carthage came in a manner out of the greatest school of traffic in the world, I mean Tyre, she should have been crowned with such rapid and uninterrupted success. The very vessels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began to make settlements upon the coasts of Spain, in those ports where they unloaded their goods. The ease with which they had founded these settlements, and the conveniences they met with, inspired them with the design of conquering those vast regions; and some time after, Nova Carthago, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almost equal to that which they enjoyed in Africa.

#### SECT. V.—THE MINES OF SPAIN, THE SECOND SOURCE OF THE RICHES AND POWER OF CARTHAGE.

Diodorus justly remarks,\* that the gold and silver mines found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhaustible fund of wealth, that enabled them to sustain such long wars against the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of these treasures that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth, at least of their use and value. The Phœnicians took advantage of this ignorance; and, by bartering some wares of little value for this precious metal, they amassed infinite wealth. When the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of the country, they dug much deeper into the earth than the old inhabitants of Spain had done, who probably were content with what they could collect on the surface; and the Romans, when they had dispossessed the Carthaginians of Spain, profited by their example, and drew an immense revenue from these mines of gold and silver.

The labour employed to come at these mines, and to dig the gold and silver out of them was incredible.† For the veins of these metals rarely appeared on the surface; they were to be sought for and traced through frightful depths, where very often floods of water stopped the miners, and seemed to defeat all future pursuits. But avarice is no less patient in undergoing fatigues, than ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of these pits, and quite drained them. Numberless multitudes of slaves perished in these mines, which were dug to enrich their masters; who treated them with the utmost barbarity, forced them by heavy stripes to labour, and gave them no respite either day or night.

Polybius, as quoted by Strabo,‡ says, that in his time, upwards of forty thousand men were employed in the mines near Novo Carthago; and furnished the Romans every day with twenty-five thousand drachmas, or eight hundred fifty-nine pounds seven shillings and sixpence.§

\* Lib. iv. p. 312, &c. † Diod. l. iv. p. 312, &c. ‡ Lib. iii. p. 147.

§ 25,000 drachmas.—An Attic drachma, according to Dr. Bernard, = 8½d. English money, consequently 25,000 = £859l. 7s. 6d.



We must not be surprised to see the Carthaginians, soon after the greatest defeats, sending fresh and numerous armies again into the field ; fitting out mighty fleets, and supporting, at a great expense, for many years, wars carried on by them in far distant countries. But it must appear surprising to us that the Romans should be capable of doing the same ; they whose revenues were very inconsiderable before those great conquests which subjected to them the most powerful nations ; and who had no resources, either from trade, to which they were absolute strangers, or from gold or silver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in case there were any ; and the expenses of which must, for that very reason, have swallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and simple life they led, in their zeal for the public welfare, and their love for their country, possessed funds which were not less ready or secure than those of Carthage, but at the same time were far more honourable to their nation.

#### SECT. VI.—WAR.

Carthage must be considered as a trading, and, at the same time, a warlike republic. Its genius and the nature of its government led it to traffic ; and it became warlike, first, from the necessity the Carthaginians were under of defending themselves against the neighbouring nations, and afterwards from a desire of extending their commerce and empire. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian republic. We have already spoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians consisted in their alliances with kings ; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money ; in some troops raised from among their own citizens ; and in mercenary soldiers purchased of neighbouring states, without being themselves obliged to levy or exercise them, because they were already well disciplined and inured to the fatigues of war ; they making choice, in every country, of such troops as had the greatest merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia a light, bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal strength of their armies ; from the Balearic isles, the most expert slingers in the world ; from Spain, a steady and invincible infantry ; from the coasts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of acknowledged valour ; and from Greece itself, soldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garrisons, for besieging or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians sent out at once powerful armies, composed of soldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the universe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies ; without suspending their manufactures, or disturbing the peaceable artificer ; without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood they possessed themselves of provinces and kingdoms ; and made [other nations the instruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expense of their own than their money ; and even this furnished from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the course of a war, sustained some losses, these were but as so many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, over the body of the state, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republic. These losses were speedily repaired, by sums arising out of a flourishing commerce, as from a perpetual sinew of war, by which the government was continually reinforced with new supplies for the purchase of mercenary forces, who were ready at the first summons. And from the vast extent of the coasts which the Carthaginians possessed, it was easy for them to levy, in a very little time, a sufficient number of sailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But as these parts were fortuitously brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or necessary tie. No common and reciprocal interest united them in such a manner, as to form a solid and unalterable body. Not one individual in these mercenary armies was sincerely interested in the success of measures, or in the prosperity of the state. They did not act with the same zeal, nor expose themselves to dangers with equal resolution, for a republic which they considered as foreign, and which consequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whose happiness constitutes that of the several members who compose it.

In great reverses of fortune, the kings in alliance with the Carthaginians\* might easily be detached from their interest, either by that jealousy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally excites; or by the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend; or by the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, impatient under the weight and disgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, generally flattered themselves with the hopes of finding one less galling in changing their masters; or, in case servitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many instances in the course of this history.

The mercenary forces, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the largeness or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the least discontent, or the slightest expectation of a more considerable stipend, to desert to the enemy with whom they had just before fought, and to turn their arms against those who had invited them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians being sustained only by these foreign supports, was shaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if to this there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce (which was their sole resource), arising from the loss of a naval engagement, they imagined themselves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themselves to despondency and despair, as was evidently seen at the end of the first Punic war.

Aristotle, in the treatise where he shows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which

\* As Syphax and Masinissa.

harassed Carthage in its later years, ought to have taught its citizens, that no miseries are comparable to those of a government which is supported only by foreigners; since neither zeal, security, nor obedience can be expected from them.

But this was not the case with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to push on their conquests with the same rapidity as the Carthaginians: but then, as they procured every thing from within themselves, and as all the parts of the state were intimately united; they had surer resources in great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reason they never once thought of suing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a less imminent danger.

The Carthaginians had, besides, a body of troops (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of school, in which the flower of their nobility, and those whose talents and ambition prompted them to aspire to the first dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among these were selected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation was too jealous and suspicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not so distrustful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the same time that they invested them with great power, did not guard against the abuse they might make of it in order to oppress their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above-mentioned. Many generals held their commissions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were still accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct; and liable to be recalled, whenever a real fault, a misfortune, or the superior interest of a cabal, furnished an opportunity for it.

#### SECT. VII.—ARTS AND SCIENCES.

It cannot be said the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which results from study and knowledge. The sending of Masinissa, son of a powerful king,\* thither for education, gives us room to believe that Carthage was provided with an excellent school. The great Hannibal† who in all respects was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be seen hereafter. Mago,‡ another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen as by his victories. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries found there (another proof that learning was not entirely banished from Carthage), they gave orders to have these books translated into Latin,§ though Cato had before written his books on that subject. There is still

\* King of the Massylians in Africa. † Nepos in vita Annibalis.

‡ Cic. lib. i. De orat. n. 249. Plin. lib. xviii. cap. 3.

§ These books were written by Mago in the Punic language, and translated into Greek by Cassius Dionysius of Utica, from whose version, we may probably suppose, the Latin was made.

extant a Greek version of a treatise\* drawn up by Hanno in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made (by order of the senate) with a considerable fleet round Africa, for the settling of different colonies in that part of the world. This Hanno is believed to be more ancient than that person of the same name who lived in the time of Agathocles.

Clitomachus,† called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been; and maintained in Athens the honour of the Academic sect. Cicero says,‡ that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally are. He wrote several books;§ in one of which he composed a piece to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery.

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa, the celebrated Terence; himself singly being capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions, if, on this account, Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be less considered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of style, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all succeeding ages. It is supposed,|| that he was carried off when an infant, or at least very young, by the Numidians in their incursions into the Carthaginian territories, during the war carried on between these two nations, from the conclusion of the second, to the beginning of the third Punic war. He was sold for a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator; who, after giving him an excellent education, gave him his liberty, and called him by his own name, as was then the custom. He was united in a very strict friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, and Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the assistance of these two great men in composing his pieces. The poet, so far from endeavouring to stifle a report so advantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only six of his comedies are extant. Some authors, on the authority of Suetonius (the writer of his life), say, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he lost a hundred and eight comedies, which he had translated from Menander, and could not survive an accident which must naturally afflict him in a sensible manner; but this incident is not very well founded. Be this as it may, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, at the age of thirty-five years, and consequently he was born anno 560.

It must yet be confessed, notwithstanding all we have said, that there ever was a great scarcity of learned men in Carthage, since it hardly furnished three or four writer of reputation in upwards of seven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correspondence with Greece and the most civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce.

\* Voss. de Hist. Gr. lib. iv.  
Laert. in Clitem.

† Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog.

‡ ‘Clitomachus, homo et acutus ut Pœnus et valde studiosus ac diligens.’ Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 98.

§ Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. n. 54.

|| Suet. in vit. Terent.



Eloquence, poetry, history, seem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philosopher was considered as a sort of prodigy by the learned. What then would an astronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what esteem physic, which is so highly useful to life, was held at Carthage; or jurisprudence, so necessary to society. As works of wit were generally had in so much disregard, the education of youth must necessarily have been very imperfect and unpolished. In Carthage, the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and selling goods; in a word, to whatever related to traffic. But polite learning, history, and philosophy, were in little repute among them. These were, in later years, even prohibited by the laws, which expressly forbade any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, lest it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correspondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth.\*

Now what could be expected from such a cast of mind? Accordingly there was never seen among them that elegance of behaviour, that ease and complacency of manners, and those sentiments of virtue, which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The small number of great men which this nation has produced, must therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the singularity of their talents, and a long experience, without any great assistance from cultivation and instruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greatest men of Carthage was sullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel passions; and it is rare to meet with any conspicuous virtue among them without some blemish; with any virtue of a noble, generous, and amiable kind, and supported by enlightened and steady principles, such as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive that I here speak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeably to the idea which the Pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their skill in arts of a less noble and necessary kind, as painting and sculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered the conquered nations of a great many works in both these kinds; but it does not appear that they themselves had produced many.

From what has been said, one cannot help concluding, that traffic was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteristic of the Carthaginians; that it formed, in a manner, the basis of the state, the soul of the commonwealth, and the grand spring which gave motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians, in general, were skilful merchants; employed wholly in traffic; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing

\* 'Factum senatus consultum ne quis postea Carthaginiensis aut literis Græcis aut sermoni studeret; ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete posset.' Justin. l. xx. c. 5. Justin ascribes the reason of this law to a treasonable correspondence between one Suniatus, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek (which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians), having informed the tyrant of the war designed against him by his country, out of hatred to Hanno the general, to whom he was an enemy.

their chief glory, in amassing them ; though at the same time they scarce knew the purpose for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

#### SECT. VIII.—THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND QUALITIES OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

IN the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero\* assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning, ‘calliditas :’ which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct ; and this was joined to another quality that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, duplicity, and breach of faith ; and these, by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristics of the Carthaginians ;† and it was so notorious, that to signify any remarkable dishonesty, it was usual to call it Punic faith, ‘fides Punica ;’ and to denote a knavish, deceitful disposition, no expression was thought more proper and emphatical than this, a Carthaginian disposition, ‘Puniceum ingenium.’

An excessive thirst for amassing wealth, and an inordinate love of gain, generally gave occasion in Carthage to the committing base and unjust actions. One single example will prove this. During a truce, granted by Scipio to the earnest entreaties of the Carthaginians, some Roman vessels, being driven by a storm on the coasts of Carthage, were seized by order of the senate and people,‡ who could not suffer so tempting a prey to escape them. They were resolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it were ever so scandalous. The inhabitants of Carthage,§ even in St. Austin’s time (as that Father informs us), showed on a particular occasion, that they still retained part of this characteristic.

But these were not the only blemishes and faults of the Carthaginians.|| They had something austere and savage in their disposition and genius, a

\* ‘Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, &c. sed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.’ De Arusp. Resp. n. 19.

† ‘Carthaginenses fraudulentum et mendaces—multis et variis mercatorum advenarumque sermonibus ad studium fallendi quæstus cupiditate vocabantur.’ Cic. orat. ii. in Rull. n. 94.

‡ ‘Magistratus senatum vocare, populus in curiæ vestibulo fremere; ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur præda. Consensum est ut, &c.’ Liv. l. xxx. n. 24.

§ A mountebank had promised the citizens of Carthage to discover to them their most secret thoughts, in case they would come on a day appointed to hear him. Being all met, he told them, they were desirous to buy cheap and sell dear. Every man’s conscience pleaded guilty to the charge ; and the mountebank was dismissed with applause and laughter. ‘Vili vultis emere, et care vendere, in quo dicto levissimi scenici omnes tamen conscientias invenerunt suas, eique vera et tamen improvisa dicenti admirabili favore plausuerunt.’ S. August. l. xiii. de Trinit. c. 3.

|| Plut. de gen. Rep. p. 799.

haughty and imperious air, a sort of ferocity, which in the first transports of passion, was dead to both reason and remonstrances, and plunged brutally into the utmost excesses of violence. The people, cowardly and grovelling under apprehensions, were proud and cruel in their transports: at the same time that they trembled under their magistrates, they were dreaded in their turn by their miserable vassals. In this we see the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whose city was always considered as the centre of learning, were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but still, a fund of good nature and humanity made them compassionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cleon one day desired the assembly, in which he presided, to break up, because, as he told them, he had a sacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the request, and immediately separated. Such a liberty, says Plutarch, at Carthage, would have cost a man his life.

Livy makes a like reflection\* with regard to Terentius Varro. That general on his return to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his ill conduct, was met by persons of all orders of the state, at some distance from Rome; and thanked by them, for his not having despaired of the commonwealth: who, says the historian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, must have expected the most severe punishment: ‘Cui, si Carthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.’ Indeed, a court was established at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made responsible for the events of the war. Ill success was punished there as a crime against the state; and whenever a general lost a battle, he was almost sure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous disposition of the Carthaginians, who were always ready to shed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus suffer, are a manifest proof of this assertion; and their history will furnish us with such instances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

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## PART THE SECOND.

### THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

THE interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included seven hundred years, and may be divided into two parts. The first, which is much the longest and the least known (as is ordinary with the beginnings of all states), extends to the first Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The second, which ends at the destruction of Carthage, contains but a hundred and eighteen years.

\* Lib. xxii. n. 61.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS AGGRANDISEMENT TILL THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

CARTHAGE in Africa was a colony from Tyre, the most renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before transplanted into that country another colony, which built Utica,\* made famous by the death of the second Cato, who for this reason is generally called Cato Uticensis.

Authors disagree very much with regard to the æra of the foundation of Carthage.† It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at least, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is sufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

Carthage existed a little above seven hundred years.‡ It was destroyed under the consulate of Cn. Lentulus, and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed in the year of the world 3158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elisa,§ a Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido. Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, called in Scripture Ethbaal, was her great grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwise Sicbarbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity of seizing his immense wealth, Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing secretly with all her dead husband's treasures. After having long wandered, she at last landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the gulf where Utica stood, and in the country of Africa, properly so called, distant almost fifteen miles|| from Tunis, so famous at this time for its corsairs; and there settled with her few followers, after having purchased some lands from the inhabitants of the country.¶

\* 'Utica et Carthago, ambæ inclytæ, ambæ a Phœnicibus conditæ; illa fato Catonis insignis, hæc suo.' Pompon. Mel. c. 67. Utica and Carthage, both famous, and both built by Phœnicians; the first renowned by Cato's fate, the last by its own.

† Our countryman Howel endeavours to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage, in the following manner. He says, that the town consisted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it, which he supposes to have been first built; Megara, built next, and in respect of Cothon, called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrsa, or the citadel, built last of all, and probably by Dido. Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correspond with Eusebus, was built a hundred and ninety-four years later; Byrsa, to agree with Menander (cited by Josephus), was built a hundred and sixty-six years after Megara.

‡ Liv. Epit. l. ii.

§ Justin. l. xviii. c. 4, 5, 6. App. de bello Pun. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 632. Patere. l. i. c. 6.

|| 120 Stadia. Strab. l. xiv. p. 687.

¶ Some authors say, that Dido put a trick on the natives, by desiring





# THE CARTHAGINIAN EMPIRE



Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the prospect of lucre, repaired thither to sell to these new comers the necessaries of life ; and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, soon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica, considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shown to strangers, did as much on their part. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was charged with the payment of an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon : and called Carthada \* or Carthage, a name that, in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues (which have a great affinity), signifies the New City. It is said, that when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people.†

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas, king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound herself by an oath not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for deliberation, and for appeasing the manes of her first husband by a sacrifice. Having therefore ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it ; and drawing out a dagger which she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it.‡

to purchase of them, for her intended settlement, only so much land as an ox's hide would encompass. The request was thought too moderate to be denied. She then cut the hide into the smallest thongs ; and with them, encompassed a large tract of ground, on which she built a citadel called Byrsa, from the hide. But this tale of the hide is generally exploded by the learned ; who observe that the Hebrew word Bosra, which signifies a fortification, gave rise to the Greek word Byrsa, which is the name of the citadel of Carthage.

\* Kartha Hadath or Hadtha.

† ‘ Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno  
Monstrarat, caput aeris equi ; nem sic fore bello  
Egregiam, et facilem victu per secula gentem.’

Virg. *Æn.* l. i. ver. 447.

The Tyrians landing near this holy ground,  
And digging here, a prosperous omen found :  
From under earth a courser's head they drew,  
Their growth and future fortune to foreshew ;  
This fated sign their fondress Juno gave,  
Of a soil fruitful, and a people brave.

DRYDEN.

‡ The story, as it is told more at large in Justin (l. xviii. c. 6.), is this — Iarbas, king of the Mauritanians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war against her in case of a refusal ; the ambassadors being afraid to deliver the message of Iarbas, told her (with Punic honesty), that he wanted to have some person sent to him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans ; but that there was no possibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the conversation of Barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here the queen with indignation, interrupting them, and

Virgil has made a great alteration in this history, by supposing that Æneas, his hero, was contemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; Carthage being built three hundred years after the destruction of Troy. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of an historian; and we admire, with great reason, the judgment which he has shown in his plan, when, to interest the Romans (for whom he wrote) in his subject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

Carthage, whose beginnings, as we have observed, were very weak at first, grew larger by insensible degrees, in the country where it was founded. But its dominions was not long confined to Africa. This ambitious city extended her conquests into Europe, invaded Sardinia, made herself mistress of a great part of Sicily, and reduced to her subjection almost the whole of Spain; and having sent out powerful colonies into all quarters, enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than six hundred years; and formed a state which was able to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires of the world, by her wealth, her commerce, her numerous armies, her formidable fleets, and, above all, by the courage and ability of her captains. The dates and circumstances of many of these conquests are little known. I shall take but a transient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form some idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN AFRICA.

The first wars made by the Carthaginians\* were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans for the territory which had been ceded to them. This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine that they were desirous of covering the obscurity of their original, by abolishing this proof of it. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and they prospered accordingly; the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians,† and gained many conquests over both. Being now emboldened by these happy successes, they shook off entirely the tribute

asking, 'if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives?' they then delivered the king's message; and bid her 'set them a pattern, and sacrifice herself to her country's welfare.' Dido being thus ensnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and answered, 'that she would go where the fate of her city called her.' At the expiration of three months, she ascended the fatal pile; and with her last breath told the spectators, that she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her.

\* Justin. i. xix. c. 1.

† Justin. l. xix. c. 2.



which gave them so much uneasiness,\* and possessed themselves of a great part of Africa.

About this time† there arose a great dispute between Carthage and Cyrene, on the subject of their respective limits. Cyrene was a very powerful city, situated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus, the Lacedæmonian.

It was agreed on each side that two young men should set out at the same time from either city, and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians (these were two brothers named Philæni) made the most haste; and their antagonists pretending that foul play had been used, and that the two brothers had set out before the time appointed, refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers (to remove all suspicion of unfair dealing) would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced with the proposal; and the Carthaginians erected, on that spot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city; and from that time the place was called the altars of the Philæni, Aræ, Philænorum,‡ and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SARDINIA, ETC.

History does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner in which they got possession of it. This island was of great use to them;§ and, during all their wars, supplied them abundantly with provisions. It is separated from Corsica only by a strait of about three leagues in breadth. The metropolis of the southern and most fertile part of it was Caralis, or Calaris, now called Cagliari. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the island, which are almost inaccessible, and whence the enemy could not dislodge them.

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Belearic isles, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Mahon (Portus Magonis), in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of and fortified it. It is not known who this Mago was:|| but it is very probable that he was Hannibal's brother. This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world,¶ who did them great service in battles and sieges. They slang large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden

\* 'Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditæ Carthageniensibus remittere.'—Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

† Sallust. de bello Jugurth. n. 77. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6.

‡ These altars were not standing in Strabo's time. Some geographers think Arcadia to be the city which was anciently called Philænorum Aræ; but others believe it was Naina or Tain, situated a little west of Arcadia, in the gulf of Sidra.

§ Strab. l. v. p. 224. Diod. l. v. p. 296. || Liv. l. xxviii. n. 37.

¶ Diod. l. v. p. 298, and l. xix. p. 742. Liv. loco citato.

bullets,\* with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed their mark. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed from their infancy to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, who were not allowed a morsel till they had brought it down with their slings. From this practice,† these islands were called *Baleares* and *Gymnasîæ* by the Greeks; because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging of stones.‡

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

Before I enter on the relation of these conquests, I think it proper to give my readers some idea of Spain.

Spain is divided into three parts, *Bætica*, *Lusitania*, *Tarraconensis*.§

*Bætica*, so called from the river *Bætis*,|| was the southern division of it, and comprehended the present kingdom of Granada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Estremadura. Cadiz, called by the ancients *Gades* and *Gadira*, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. It is well known¶ that *Hercules*, having extended his conquests to this place, halted, from the supposition that he was come to the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite destroyed these pillars. Authors are divided in opinion with regard to the place where these pillars were erected. *Bætica* was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and most populous part of

\* ‘*Liquescit excussa glans funda, et attritu aeris, velut igne, distillat.*’ *i. e.* ‘The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and by the friction of the air, runs as if it was melted by fire.’—*Senec. Nat. Quæst.* l. ii. c. 57.

† *Strab.* l. iii. p. 167.

‡ *Bochart* derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, *Baal-jare*, or master of the art of slinging. This strengthens the authority of *Strabo*, viz. that the inhabitants learned their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their masters. *Σφενδονῆται ἄριστοι λέγονται—ἐξοτου φόνικες κατέσχον τὰς νήσους.* And this is still more probable, when we consider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearian slings would annoy an enemy either near at hand, or at a distance. Every slinger carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a second from the waist, and a third was carried in the hand. To this, give me leave to add two more observations (foreign indeed to the present purpose, but relating to these islands), which I hope will not be unentertaining to the reader. The first is, that these islands were once so infested with rabbits, that the inhabitants of it applied to Rome, either for aid against them, or otherwise desired new habitations, *ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ζώων τούτων*, those creatures having ejected them out of their old ones.—*Vide Strab. Plin.* l. viii. c. 55. The second observation is, that these islanders were not only expert slingers, but likewise excellent swimmers; which they are to this day, by the testimony of our countryman *Biddulph*, who, in his *Travels*, informs us, that being becalmed near these islands, a woman swam to him out of one of them, with a basket of fruit to sell.

§ *Cluver.* l. ii. c. 2.

|| *Guadalquiver.*

¶ *Strabo*, l. iii. p. 171.

Spain.\* It contained two hundred cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Bætis stood three large cities, Castulo towards the source, Corduba lower down, the native place of Lucan and the two Senecas; lastly, Hispalis.†

Lusitania is bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durius,‡ and on the south by the river Anas.§ Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

Tarraconensis comprehended the rest of Spain, that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Tarraco,|| a very considerable city, gave its name to this part of Spain. Pretty near it lay Barcino.¶ Its name gives rise to the conjecture that it was built by Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the great Hannibal. The most renowned nations of Tarraconensis were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus;\*\* the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; the Oretani, &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike disposition, from the very genius and constitution of their republic. They doubtless knew that their Phœnician ancestors (as Diodorus†† relates), taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immense riches which were hid in the bowels of their lands, first took from them these precious treasures, in exchange for commodities of little value. They likewise foresaw that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well disciplined troops for the conquest of other nations, as actually happened.

The occasion of the Carthaginians first landing in Spain, was to assist the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards.‡‡ That city was a colony from Tyre, as well as Utica and Carthage, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, established there the worship of Hercules; and erected, in his honour, a magnificent temple, which became famous in after ages. The success of this first expedition of the Carthaginians made them desirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great resolution and courage. Nor could they ever have accomplished their designs, as Strabo observes,§§ had the Spaniards (united in a body) formed but one state, and mutually assisted one another. But as every district, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence nor connexion with them, the Carthaginians were forced to subdue them one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on one

\* Strabo, p. 139—142.

† Seville.

‡ Duero.

§ Guadiana.

|| Tarragona.

¶ Barcelona.

\*\* Ebro.

†† L. v. p. 312.

‡‡ Justin. l. xliv. c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 300.

§§ L. iii. p. 158.

hand, the loss of Spain; but, on the other, protracted the war, and made the conquest of the country much more difficult.\* Accordingly it has been observed, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued;† and was not entirely subjected to their power till having made a vigorous opposition for upwards of 200 years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybus and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will soon be mentioned, that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country before that period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years time they completed the conquest of almost the whole country.

At the time that Hannibal set out for Italy,‡ all the coast of Africa, from the Philænorum Aræ, by the great Syrtis, to the pillars of Hercules, was subject to the Carthaginians. Passing through the straits, they had conquered all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coast which lies on the Mediterranean, had been almost wholly subdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthagina; and they were masters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was, at that time, the extent of their empire. In the centre of the country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts, and could not be subdued by them.

#### CONQUESTS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.

The wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This period includes near two hundred and twenty years, viz. from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus (three brothers who succeeded one another) with the sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time, the two Dionysius's, Timoleon, and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars of which I am going to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthagians, at the time that they began to be engaged in war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean.

\* Such a division of Britain retarded, and at the same time facilitated, the conquest of it to the Romans. 'Dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur.'—Tacit.

† 'Hispania prima Romanis inita Provinciarum quæ quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium perdomita est.'—Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12.

‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 192. l. i. p. 9.



It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called *Trinaeria* and *Triquetra*. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from Cape *Pachynum*\* to *Pelorum*.† The most celebrated cities on this coast are *Syracuse*, *Tauromenium*, and *Messana*. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from Cape *Pelorum* to Cape *Lilybæum*.‡ The most noted cities on this coast are *Mylæ*, *Hymera*, *Panormus*, *Eryx*, *Motya*, *Lilybæum*. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from Cape *Lilybæum* to *Pachynum*. The most remarkable cities on this coast are *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Camarina*. This island is separated from Italy by a strait, which is not more than a mile and a half over, and called the *Faro* or Strait of *Messina*, from its contiguity to that city. The passage from *Lilybæum* to Africa is but 1,500 furlongs,§ that is, about 75 leagues.||

The period in which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known.¶ All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it at the time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans [A. M. 3501. A. Carth. 343. Rome, 245. Ant. J. C. 503.]; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their room, viz. twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the first we find mentioned to have been made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions with regard to Sicily, relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory,\*\* which was very near Carthage; and that such merchants as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties which are settled in it.††

It appears by the same treaty that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries subject to them; as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, had taken umbrage at the rising power of the Romans; and already harboured in their breasts the secret seeds of that jealousy and distrust that were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and a mutual hatred and animosity, which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of the contending powers.

Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty‡‡ [A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484], the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes, king of

\* Passaro. † Il Faro. ‡ Cape Boeo. § Strabo. l. vi. p. 267.

|| This is Strabo's calculation; but there must be a mistake in the numerical characters, and what he immediately subjoins is a proof of this mistake. He says that a man, whose eye-sight was good, might, from the coast of Sicily, count the vessels that came out of the port of Carthage. Is it possible that the eye can carry so far as 60 or 75 leagues? This passage of Strabo, therefore, must be thus corrected. The passage from *Lilybæum* to Africa is only 25 leagues.

¶ Polyb. l. iii. p. 245. et seq. edit. Gronov.

\*\* The reason of this restraint, according to Polybius, was, the unwillingness of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the south, in order that this enterprising people might not hear of their fertility.—Polyb. l. iii. p. 247, edit. Gronov. †† Polyb. l. iii. p. 246. ‡‡ Diod. l. xi. p. 1, 16, and 22.

Persia. This prince, who aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he considered as his irreconcilable enemies, thought it would be impossible for him to succeed in his enterprise without the assistance of Carthage, whose power was formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the design they entertained of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily snatched the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for their completing the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded; wherein it was agreed that the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, while Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

The preparations for this war lasted three years. The land army amounted to no less than three hundred thousand men. The fleet consisted of two thousand ships of war, and upwards of three thousand small vessels of burden. Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo;\* and, after refreshing his troops, he marched against Hymera, a city not far distant from Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. He flew immediately to his relief, with fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse. His arrival infused new courage into the besieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been dispatched from Selinus, a city of Sicily, with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own troops, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. These being admitted into the enemy's camp, as coming from Selinus, rushed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and set fire to his ships. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked, with all his forces, the Carthaginians, who at first made a gallant resistance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful slaughter ensued; upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand being slain. The rest of the army having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This battle was fought the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which 300 Spartans,† with the sacrifice of their lives, disputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the sad news was brought to Carthage of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into such a confusion and alarm as are not to be expressed. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. Immediately they sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired a peace upon any terms. He

\* This city is called in Latin Panormus. † Besides the 300 Spartans the Thespians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas in this memorable battle.—Herod. l. vii, c. 202—222.

heard their envoys with great humanity. The complete victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace, without any other condition, than their paying two thousand talents\* towards the expence of the war. He likewise required them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace that was so absolutely necessary to their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. Gisgo, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom of the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of a war, and making him bear the blame of it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinus, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly, unarmed, and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption than the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant, and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its benefactor and deliverer; all, with an unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse,† [A. M. 3592. A. Carth. 434. A. Rom. 336. Ant. J. C. 412] where Nicias perished with his whole fleet, the Segestans, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinus, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. At Carthage the people debated some time what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians; and become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who at that time was invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the Suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera, and son to Gisgo, who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, animated with an ardent desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the Well of Lilibæum, which gave its name to a city afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinus. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the

\* An Attic silver talent, according to Dr. Barnard, is 206*l.* 5*s.*, consequently 2,000 talents is 412,500*l.* † Diod. l. xiii. p. 169—171. 179—186.

very women showing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without showing the least regard to either age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled; and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty-two years.

Himera, which he next besieged and took likewise by storm, after being more cruelly treated than Selinus, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years after its foundation. He forced three thousand prisoners to undergo every kind of ignominious punishments; and at last murdered them all on the very spot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry, to appease and satisfy his manes by the blood of these unhappy victims,

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations.

These successes re-inflamed the desire, and revived the design, which the Carthaginians had ever entertained, of making themselves masters of the whole of Sicily.\* Three years after they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant Imilcon, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were proportioned to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were soon ready, and set out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above six score thousand; and, according to Ephorus, to three hundred thousand men. The enemy, on their side, were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the first fury of the enemy. This city was prodigiously rich,† and strongly fortified. It was situated, as was

\* Diod. l. xiii. p. 201—203. 206—211. 226—231.

† The very sepulchral monuments showed the magnificence and luxury of this city, being adorned with statues of birds and horses. But the wealth and boundless generosity of Gellias, one of its inhabitants, is almost incredible. He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts; and during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger: he gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair: he had built houses in the city and the country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. Five hundred shipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him were bountifully relieved, and every man supplied with a cloak and a coat out of his wardrobe.—Diod. l. xiii. Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Empedocles, the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow-citizens:—‘That the Agrigentines squandered their money so excessively every day as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever.



also Selinus, on that coast of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he directed his whole force to that quarter. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls; and made use, on this occasion, of the rubbish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts many fancied they had seen stalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demolished, prayers were ordered to be made according to the practice of Carthage; a child was sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a most inhuman superstitious custom; and many victims were thrown into the sea, in honour of Neptune.

The besieged, who at first had gained several advantages, were at last so pressed by famine, that all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpose. The reader will naturally image to himself the grief with which these miserable people must be seized, on their being forced to leave their houses, their rich possessions, and their country; but life was still dearer to them than all these. Never was a more melancholy spectacle seen. To omit the rest, a crowd of women bathed in tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless infants, in order to secure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the most grievous circumstances was, the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who were unable either to fly or to make the least resistance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the nearest city, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time, Imilcon entered the city, and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immensely rich, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plundered, before. A numberless multitude of pictures, vases, and statues of all kinds, were found here; the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull\* of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum had lasted eight months. Imilcon made his forces take up their winter-quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshment; and left this city (after laying it entirely in ruins) in the beginning of the spring. He afterwards besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the Tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilcon ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius. The conditions of it were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still

\* This bull, with other spoils here taken, was afterwards restored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage in the third Punic war. Cic. O. iv. in Verrem. c. 33.

possess the country of Sicanians,\* Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera ; as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage ; that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence : lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilcon returned to Carthage, where the plague still made dreadful havoc.

Dionysius had concluded the late peace† with the Carthaginians [A. M. 3600. A. Carth. 442. A. Rom. 344. Ant. J. C. 404.] with no other view than to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for the war which he meditated against them. As he was very sensible how formidable the power of this state was, he used his utmost endeavours to enable himself to invade them with success ; and his design was wonderfully well seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of this prince, the strong desire he had to distinguish himself, the charms of gain, and the prospect of the rewards which he promised those who should show the greatest industry, invited from all quarters, into Sicily, the most able artists and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuse now became in a manner an immense workshop, in every part of which men were seen making swords, helmets, shields and military engines, and preparing all things necessary for building ships and fitting out fleets. The invention of vessels with five benches of oars (or Quinqueremes) was at that time very recent ; for, till then, those with three alone‡ had been used. Dionysius animated the workmen by his presence, and by the applauses he gave, and the bounty which he bestowed seasonably ; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited, more strongly than any other conduct, the industry and ardour of the workmen ; and he frequently allowed those of them who most excelled in their respective arts the honour to dine with him.§

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his design before them, and represented to them that the Carthaginians were the professed enemies to the Greeks, that they had no less in view than the invasions of all Sicily ; the subjecting all the Grecian cities ; and that, in case their progress was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked : that the reason why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprise, and continued unactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havoc made by the plague among them ; which (he observed) was a favourable opportunity, of which the Syracusans ought to take advantage. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people bore to the Carthaginians prevailed over all other considerations ; and every one, guided more by the views of an interested policy than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made, or any declaration of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace, the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of

\* The Sicanians and Sicilians were anciently two distinct people.

† Diod. lib. xiv. pag. 268.—278. ‡ Triremes. § Honos alit artes.

them resided at that time in Syracuse, and traded there on the faith of treaties. The common people ran to their houses, plundered their effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorised to exercise every ignominy, and inflict every kind of punishment on them, for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. This was the bloody signal of the war which was declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice (in his way), sent deputies to Carthage, to require them to restore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that, otherwise, all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the sad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and he pushed the siege on with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilcon, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering rams, advanced to the wall towers, six stories high (rolled upon wheels), and of an equal height with their houses; and from these he greatly annoyed the besieged, with his catapultæ, an engine then recently invented, which hurled, with great violence, numerous volleys of arrows and stones against the enemy. At last the city, after a long and vigorous defence, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the sword, those excepted who took sanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a trusty governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

The following year\* Imilcon being appointed one of the Suffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo,† recovered Motya by force, and took several other cities. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, with design to besiege it; marching his infantry by land, whilst his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imilcon threw the Syracusans into great consternation. About two hundred ships laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the same time the land army, consisting, according to some authors, of three hundred thousand foot,‡ and three thousand horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilcon pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half, from the city. Marching up to it, Imilcon offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilcon, satisfied at his having extorted from the Syracusans this confession of their own weakness and his own superiority, returned to his camp, not doubting but he should soon be master of the city, considering it already as a certain prey which

\* Diod. l. xiv. p. 279—295. Justin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

† Panormus.

‡ Some authors say but thirty thousand foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by sea was so formidable.



could not possibly escape him. For thirty days together he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Arcadina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp he beat down the tombs which stood round the city; and, among others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was prodigiously magnificent.

But these successes were not lasting. All the splendour of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the historian,\* that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. Whilst Imilcon, now master of all the cities of Sicily, expected to crown his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havoc in it. It was now the midst of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. At first, care was taken to inter the dead; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied, and the sick could have no assistance. This plague was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even seized with madness and fury, so that they would fall upon any persons that came in their way, and tear them to pieces.

Dionysius did not suffer to escape so favourable an opportunity for attacking the enemy. Being more than half conquered by the plague, they made but a feeble resistance. The Carthaginian ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuse, old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city to behold an event which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having avenged the sanctity of the temples and tombs, which had been so brutally violated by these barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired; when Imilcon, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius, requesting leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents,† which was all the specie he had then left. But this permission could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilcon stole away in the night, and left the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

Such was the condition in which this Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retired from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, and still more that of his country, he, with the most insolent fury, accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. ‘The enemy,’ continued he, ‘may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are defeated by the plague alone.’ His greatest subject of grief, and that which most keenly distressed him, was his having survived so many gallant soldiers, who had died in arms. ‘But,’ added he, ‘the sequel shall make it appear whether it is through fear of death, or from the desire of leading back to their native country the miserable

\* Diodorus.

† About 61,800*l.* English money.



remains of my fellow-citizens, that I have survived the loss of so many brave comrades.' And, in fact, on his arrival at Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children; and then gave himself the fatal stroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, though it was, in reality, no other than a cowardly despair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not stop here; for the Africans, who had ever borne an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, but were now exasperated to fury, because their countrymen had been left behind, and exposed to the murdering sword of the Syracusans, assemble in the most frantic manner, sound the alarm, take up arms, and, after seizing upon Tunis, march directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thousand men. The citizens now gave themselves up for lost. This new incident was considered by them as the sad effect of the wrath of the gods, which pursued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, especially in all public calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them in the plundering of their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual (if I may use that expression), were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner to appease and propitiate the angry goddesses. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a soul; no provisions nor military engines; no discipline nor subordination was seen among them: every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming an independence on the rest. Divisions, therefore, arising in this rabble of an army, and the famine increasing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their enterprises on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the Suffetes, lost a great battle, in which he was slain. The Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expenses of the war. They pretended to accept the terms; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities without first obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained so long a truce as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. They took advantage of this interval to raise and discipline new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. As soon as he arrived in Sicily, at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle: in which Leptines,\* one of the generals

\* This Leptines was brother to Dionysius.

of the latter, was killed, and upwards of fourteen thousand Syracusans left dead in the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the possession of all they had in Sicily, with even the addition of some strong holds; besides a thousand talents,\* which were paid to them towards defraying the expenses of the war.

About this time† a law was enacted at Carthage, by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or speak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of corresponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth, or in writing. This was occasioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had written in Greek to Dionysius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

Carthage had, soon after,‡ another calamity to struggle with. The plague spread in the city, and made terrible havoc. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, seized on a sudden the unhappy sufferers; who sallying, sword in hand, out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to them; but both were subjected and reduced to their allegiance. Dionysius formed at this time an enterprise, in Sicily, with the same views, which was equally unsuccessful. He died§ some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently about the time we are now speaking of. This second treaty was very near the same with the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expressly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

After the death of the elder Dionysius,|| [A. M. 3656. A. Carth. 498. A. Rom. 400. Ant. J. C. 348.] Syracuse was involved in great troubles. Dionysius, the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a very favourable opportunity for the Car-

\* About 206,000*l*. † Justin. l. xx. c. 5. ‡ Diod. l. xv. p. 344.

§ This is the Dionysius who invited Plato to his court; and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, sold him for a slave. Some philosophers came from Greece to Syracuse in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they sent him home with this useful lesson—that philosophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converse with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to pass for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had sent his verses, to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionysius had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for, on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raised to such a transport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he should die when he had overcome his betters.

|| Diod. l. xvi. p. 450—472. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plut. in Timol.

thaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who had often assisted them in their dangers ; and were, besides, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies of tyranny, and the most avowed and most generous assertors of liberty. Accordingly, the Corinthians sent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, who had signalized his zeal for the public welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expense of his own family. He set sail with only ten ships, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy stratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians ; who having been informed by Icetes of his voyage and design, wanted to intercept him in his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarce above a thousand soldiers under his command ; and yet, with this handful of men, he marched boldly to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased in proportion as he advanced. The Syracusans were now in a desperate condition and quite hopeless. They saw the Carthaginians masters of the port ; Icetes of the city ; and Dionysius of the citadel. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition into it ; and escaped, by his assistance, to Corinth.\* Timoleon had, by his emissaries, artfully represented to the foreign soldiers, who (by that error in the constitution of Carthage which we have before taken notice of) formed the principal strength of Mago's army, and the greatest part of whom were Greeks ; that it was astonishing to see Greeks using their endeavours to make barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would pass over into Greece. For could they imagine that the Carthaginians were come so far with no other view than to establish Icetes tyrant of Syracuse ? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave this general very great uneasiness ; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed that his forces were going to betray and desert him ; and upon this, he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long against the Corinthians ; so that they now got entire possession of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached ; but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people. New forces were levied at Carthage,† and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was sent to Sicily. It consisted of two hundred ships of war, besides a thousand transports ; and the army

\* Here he preserved some resemblance of his former tyranny, by turning schoolmaster ; and exercising a discipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannize over men. He had learning and was once a scholar to Plato, whom he caused to come again into Sicily, notwithstanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionysius's father. Philip, king of Macedon, meeting him in the streets of Corinth, and asking him how he came to lose so considerable a principality as had been left him by his father, he answered, that his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which preserved both himself and that. —However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill, from which she had raised his father. † Plut. p. 248—250.



amounted to upwards of seventy thousand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and resolved to attack the Corinthians first. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. But such was the consternation of Syracuse, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only three thousand Syracusans and four thousand mercenaries followed him; and even of these latter a thousand deserted upon the march, through fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not discouraged: but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves courageously for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimisus. It appeared at the first reflection madness to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thousand foot and a thousand horse; but Timoleon, who knew that bravery, conducted by prudence, is superior to number, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thousand of them slain, full three thousand of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners.

Timoleon,\* at the same time that he dispatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found amongst the plunder. For he was desirous of having his city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth alone, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, the sight of which could tend only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses, but with those of barbarians, which, by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, 'That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks, settled in Sicily, from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgment of the favour and goodness of the gods.'

After this, Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories to waste and destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the thousand soldiers who had deserted him; and took no other revenge than the commanding them to leave Syracuse before sun-set.

This victory gained by the Corinthians was followed by the capture of a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace.

In proportion as the appearance of success made the Carthaginians vigorously exert themselves to raise powerful armies both by land and sea, and prosperity led them to make an insolent and cruel use of victory; so their courage would sink in unforeseen adversities, their hopes of new resources vanish, and their grovelling souls condescend to ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and without sense of shame accept the

\* Plut. p. 348—250.



hardest and most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were, that they should possess only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus;\* that they should give all the natives free liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects, and that they should neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correspondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by Justin.† Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republic, by destroying the whole senate. He chose, for the execution of this bloody plan, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The conspiracy was discovered; but Hanno had such influence that the government did not dare to punish so execrable a crime; the magistrates contented themselves with only preventing it, by an order which forbade, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and limited the expense on those occasions. Hanno seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force, and for that purpose armed all the slaves. However, he was again discovered; and, to escape punishment, retired, with twenty thousand slaves, to a castle that was very strongly fortified; and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken prisoner and carried to Carthage; where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, he was put to death in presence of the people, and his body, all torn with stripes, was hung on a gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, in order that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the temper of the Carthaginians; ever severe and violent in their punishments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without showing the least regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

I come now to the wars sustained by the Carthaginians‡ [A. M. 3685. A. Carth. 527. A. Rom. 429. Ant. J. C. 319.] in Africa itself as well as in Sicily, against Agathocles, which exercised their arms during several years.

This Agathocles was a Sicilian of obscure birth and low fortune.§

\* This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called Lycus by Diodorus and Plutarch, but this is thought a mistake.

† Justin. l. xxi. c. 4. ‡ Diod. l. xix. p. 651—656—710—721—737—743—760. Justin. l. ii. c. 1—6.

§ He was, according to most historians, the son of a potter; but all allow him to have worked at the trade. From the obscurity of his birth and condition, Polybius raises an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to the slanders of Timæus. But his greatest eulogium was the praise of Scipio. That illustrious Roman being asked who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs? answered, Agathocles and Dionysius.—Polyb. l. xv. p. 1003. edit. Gronov. However, let his capacity have been ever so great, it was exceeded by his cruelties.

Supported at first by the forces of the Carthaginians, he had invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and made himself tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds ; and Hamilcar, their chief, forced him to agree to a treaty, which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon infringed the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves ; who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a signal victory over him,\* and forced him to shut himself up in Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither, and laid siege to that important city, the capture of which would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who, moreover, saw himself deserted by all his allies, from their detestation of his horrid cruelties, meditated a design of so daring, and, to all appearance, of so impracticable a nature, that even after being happily carried into execution, it yet appears almost incredible. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he neither could defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is as astonishing as the design itself. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no person whatsoever, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from the danger that surrounded them ; that they had only to endure with patience, for a short time, the inconvenience of a siege ; but that those who could not bring themselves to this resolution, might freely depart the city. Only sixteen hundred persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a stout defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents† to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary to his subsistence. He therefore set sail with two of his sons, Archagathus and Heraclides, without letting any one person know whither he intended to direct his course. All who were on board his fleet believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder those countries, or to lay waste those coasts of Sicily which belonged to the enemy. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure, endeavoured to prevent it ; but Agathocles eluded their pursuit, and made to the main ocean.

He did not discover his design till he had landed in Africa. There, assembling his troops, he told them, in a few words, the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented that the only way to free their country was to carry war into the territories of their enemies : that he led them who were inured to war, and of intrepid dispositions, against a parcel of enemies who were softened and enervated by ease and luxury : that the natives of the country, oppressed with the yoke of a servitude equally cruel and ignominious, would run in crowds to join them on the first news of their arrival : that the boldness of their

\* The battle was fought on the river and city of Himera.

† Fifty thousand French crowns, or 11,250*l.* sterling.

attempt would alone disconcert the Carthaginians, who had no expectation of seeing an enemy at their gates: in short that no enterprise could possibly be more advantageous or honourable than this; since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and received his speech with applauses and acclamations. One circumstance alone gave them uneasiness, and that was an eclipse of the sun, which happened just as they were setting sail. In these ages, even the most uncivilized nations understood very little the reason of these extraordinary phenomena of nature; and used to draw from them (by their soothsayers) superstitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either suspend or hasten the more important enterprises. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that, therefore, good fortune was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his soldiers in the good disposition he wished them, he executed, almost at the same time, a second enterprise, which was even more daring and hazardous than his first, of carrying them over into Africa; and this was the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ships could lie in safety. As the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would not have failed to possess themselves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the least resistance. In case he had left as many hands as were necessary to defend it, he would have weakened his army (which was inconsiderable at the best), and put it out of his power to gain any advantage for this unexpected diversion, the success of which depended entirely on the swiftness and vigour of the execution. Lastly, he was desirous of putting his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge than victory. Much courage was necessary to adopt such a resolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his service, and received every impression he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, and addressing himself to the assembly: "When we," says he, "left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy: in this fatal necessity I addressed myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily; and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me therefore, O soldiers, to discharge my vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way on board his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made to them. They all had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour; but when they had a little recovered their reason, and surveying in their minds the



vast extent of ocean which separated them from their own country, saw themselves in that of the enemy without the least resource, or any means of escaping out of it; a sad and melancholy silence succeeded the transport of joy and acclamations which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they marched to this place, afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On either side were seen large meads watered by beautiful streams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country-seats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which delighted the eye. This prospect reanimated the soldiers. They marched full of courage to the Great City, which they took, sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis made as little resistance; and this place was not far distant from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square of the city, whilst the senate assembled in haste and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preserving the city. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to await the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country and among the allies. It was therefore resolved, after several different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens.<sup>1</sup> The number of the forces thus levied, amounted to forty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themselves by some family quarrels, were however joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy; and, on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. Agathocles had, at most, but thirteen or fourteen thousand men.\* The signal was given, and an obstinate fight ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort (the flower of the Carthaginian forces), long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes even broke their ranks; but at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell dead on the field. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things; but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which, by that means, was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time,

\* Agathocles wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which looked well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under on sight of the enemy's horse, he let fly a great many owls (privately procured for that purpose), which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory. Diod. l. xx. p. 751.



he returned, and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thousand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of their taking many prisoners. The result of this victory was the capture of a great number of strong holds, and the defection of many of the natives of the country, who joined the victor.

This descent of Agathocles into Africa,\* doubtless gave birth to Scipio's design of making a like attempt upon the same republic, and from the same place. Wherefore, in his answer to Fabius, who ascribed to temerity his design of making Africa the seat of the war, he forgot not to mention the example of Agathocles, as an instance in favour of his enterprise; and to show, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy who presses too closely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies,† ambassadors arrived to them from Tyre. They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so they called them) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and deputed thirty of their principal citizens, to express their grief that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however despond; they committed their wives, children,‡ and old men, to the care of these deputies; and thus, being delivered from all inquietude, with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they thought alone of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans were ravaging Africa, and had advanced to the very gates of Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was more than twenty before it.

At the same time, Carthage was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods: and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities, towards whom the Carthaginians had been remiss in the discharge of certain duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been observed with great exactness. It was a custom (coeval with the city itself) at Carthage, to send annually to Tyre (the mother

\* Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43. † Diod. l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3. ‡ Τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναι κῶν μέρος some of their wives and children. Diod. l. xvii. 519.

city) the tenth of all the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both cities. The domain, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion, on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened; and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were seized with a scruple on this point: they made an open and public confession of their insincerity and sacrilegious avarice; and, to expiate their guilt, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small shrines of their deities all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman superstition seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no less uneasiness. Anciently, children of the best families in Carthage used to be sacrificed to Saturn. They now reproached themselves with having failed to pay to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and with having used fraud and dishonest dealings towards him, by having substituted, in their sacrifices, children of slaves or beggars, bought for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice was made to this blood-thirsty god, of two hundred children of the first rank; and upwards of three hundred persons, through a sense of this terrible neglect, offered themselves voluntarily as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After these expiations, expresses were dispatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and at the same time, to request immediate succours. He commanded the deputies to observe the strictest silence on the subject of the victory of Agathocles; and spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and, in confirmation of this report, he showed the irons of the vessels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully sent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuse; the majority were for capitulating;\* when a galley of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port; and through great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and restored alacrity and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but was beaten off with loss. He then raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. Some time after,† having resumed the siege, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans by attacking them in the night, his design was discovered: and falling alive into the enemy's hands, he was put to death with the most exquisite tortures.‡ Hamilcar's head was sent im-

\* And the most forward of all the rest was Antander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his absence; who was so terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city surrendered; and expelled out of it eight thousand inhabitants who were of a contrary opinion.

† Diod. p. 767—769.

‡ He was cruelly tortured till he died, and so met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army; and therefore the votes of the senate (whatever they

mediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general consternation, by displaying to them the head of this general, which manifested the melancholy situation of the affairs in Sicily.

To these foreign enemies was joined a domestic one,\* which was more to be feared, as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in possession of the first port in Carthage. He had long meditated the establishment of himself as tyrant at Carthage, and attaining the sovereign authority there; and imagined that the present troubles offered him the wished-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city, and being seconded by a small number of citizens, who were the accomplices of his rebellion, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant; and showed himself literally such, by cutting the throats of all the citizens whom he met with in the streets. A tumult arising immediately in the city, it was at first thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar caused all this disturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged whole volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of his soldiers. When he saw an army marching in order against him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all without exception who would lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted: for the Carthaginians, without regarding their oath, condemned him to death, and fastened him to a cross, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from a rostrum, he harangued the people; and thought himself justly entitled to reproach them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he did by enumerating many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the cross whilst uttering these reproaches.†

Agathocles had won over to his interest a powerful king of Cyrene,‡ named Ophellas, whose ambition he had flattered with the most splendid hopes, by leading him to understand, that contenting himself with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But, as Agathocles did not scruple to commit the most horrid crimes when he thought them conducive to his interest, the credulous prince had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than, by the blackest perfidy, he caused him to be murdered, in order that Ophellas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles,

were) being, according to custom, cast into a vessel, it was immediately closed, with an order not to uncover it, till he was returned, and had thrown up his commission. Justin. l. xxii. c. 3.

\* Diod. p. 779—781. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7.

† It would seem incredible that any man could so far triumph over the pains of the cross, as to talk with any coherence in his discourse; had not Seneca assured us, that some have so far despised and insulted its tortures, that they spit contemptuously upon the spectators. 'Quidam ex patibulo suos spectatores conspuerunt.' De vita beata, c. 19.

‡ Diod. p. 777—779—791—802. Justin. l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

and several strong-holds were garrisoned by his forces. As he now saw the affairs of Africa in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly he sailed back thither, having left the command of his army to his son Archagathus. His renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him. On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had quite changed the face of things; and all his endeavours were incapable of restoring them to their former condition. All his strong holds had surrendered to the enemy; the Africans had deserted him; some of his troops were lost, and the remainder were unable to make head against the Carthaginians; he had no way to transport them into Sicily, as he was destitute of ships, and the enemy were masters at sea: he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the barbarians, since he had insulted them in so outrageous a manner, by his being the first who had dared to make a descent in their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own safety. After many adventures, this base deserter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which threatened him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few followers. His soldiers seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendered to the enemy. Himself died miserably soon after, and ended, by a cruel death,\* a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin.† The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear that he might think of turning his arms towards Africa. The disastrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his services. The king received him graciously, and had several conferences with him. Hamilcar did not fail to transmit to his country whatever discoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's designs. Nevertheless, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was considered as a betrayer of his country to that prince: and accordingly was put to death, by a sentence which displayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

\* He was poisoned by one Mænon, whom he had unnaturally abused. His teeth were putrefied by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mænon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he designed to defeat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable, that Justin (or rather Trogus) and Diodorus disagree in all the material part of this tyrant's history.

† Justin. lib. xxi. cap. 6.



I am now to speak of the wars of the Carthaginians\* in Sicily, [A. M. 3727. A. Carth. 569. A. Rom. 471. Ant. J.C. 277.] in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were not unknown, in order to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his crossing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus.

The foresight of the Romans was well founded:† Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves obliged to assist the Romans; and accordingly sent them a fleet of six-score sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the interest which his superiors took in the war which they heard was carrying on against the Romans, and offered them their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at present thought fit to decline it.

Mago, some days after, repaired to Pyrrhus,‡ upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans; but in reality to sound him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. The Carthaginians were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And, indeed, the Syracusans, who had been besieged for some time by the Carthaginians, had sent pressing for succour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reason to espouse their interests, having married Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a son named Alexander. He at last sailed from Tarentum, passed the Strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conquests at first were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island only the single town of Lilybæum. He laid siege to it, but meeting with a vigorous resistance, was obliged to raise the siege; not to mention that the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which, on his departure, returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, he turned his eyes back to Sicily, and exclaimed to those about him, 'What a fine field of battle§ do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!' His prediction was soon verified.

After his departure, the chief magistracy of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens; so greatly had his government pleased.

\* Polyb. lib. iii. pag. 250. editione Gronov.

† Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. ‡ Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. § *ὅταν ἀπολείπομεν ὡ φίλοι Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παλαίστραν* The Greek expression is beautiful. Indeed Sicily was a kind of Palæstra, where the Carthaginians and Romans exercised themselves in war, and for many years seemed to play the part of wrestlers with each other. The English language, as well as the French, has no word to express the Greek term.

He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest reunited them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both: these were the Romans, who having crushed all the enemies which had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power there to which they afterwards attained, and of which it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too commodious for them, not to form a resolution of establishing themselves in it. They therefore eagerly snatched this opportunity for crossing into it, which caused the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war. This I shall treat of more at large, by relating the causes of that war.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE, FROM THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO ITS DESTRUCTION.

THE plan which I have laid down, does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage; since that pertains rather to the Roman history, which I do not intend to touch upon, except transiently and occasionally. I shall therefore relate such facts only, as may give the reader a just idea of the republic whose history lies before me; by confining myself to those particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, and to their most important transactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa; a subject in itself sufficiently extensive.

I have already observed, that from the first Punic war to the ruin of Carthage, a hundred and eighteen years elapsed. This whole time may be divided into five parts or intervals.

I. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years.	24
II. The interval betwixt the first and second Punic war, is also twenty-four years.	24
III. The second Punic war took up seventeen years.	17
IV. The interval between the second and third, is forty-nine years.	49
V. The third Punic war, terminated by the destruction of Carthage, continued but four years and some months.	4

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## ARTICLE I.

### THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

[A. M. 3724. A. Carth. 566. A. Rom. 468. Ant. J. C. 280.] The first Punic war arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers,\* in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove

\* Polyb. l. i. p. S. edit. Gronov.

out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained sole masters of that important city. They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, rendered themselves at length formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which became very powerful, and gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. As soon as the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think of punishing the crime of their citizens, who had settled themselves at Rhegium, in so cruel and treacherous a manner, nearly ten years before. Accordingly, they took the city, and killed in the attack, the greatest part of the inhabitants, who instigated by despair, had fought to the last gasp: three hundred only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses which they had sustained from the Syracusans, who had lately placed Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their own safety. But divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, whilst the other called in the Romans to their assistance, and resolved to put them in possession of their city.

The affair was debated in the Roman senate,\* where, being considered in all its lights, it appeared to have some difficulties. On one hand, it was thought base, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was exactly the same with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had recently punished with so exemplary a severity. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, who, not satisfied with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had also made themselves masters of almost all the islands of the Sardinian and Hebrurian seas; and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands, if they should be suffered to possess themselves of Messina. From thence into Italy, the passage was very short; and it was in some manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave the entrance open. These reasons, though so strong, could not prevail with the senate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; [A. M. 3741. A. Carth. 583. A. Rom. 485. Ant. J. C. 263.] and accordingly, motives of honour and justice prevailed in this instance over those of interest and policy. But the people were not so scrupulous;† for, in an assembly held on this subject, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted. The consul Appius Claudius immediately set forward with his army, and boldly crossed the strait, after he had, by an ingenious stratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginians, partly by art and partly by

\* Polyb. l. i. p. 12, 13, 14, 15. edit. Gronov.

† Frontin.

force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was surrendered immediately to the consul. The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in so cowardly a manner, and prepared to besiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the consul having defeated them separately, raised the siege, and laid waste at pleasure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted,\* whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition, were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of strict justice. Be this as it may, their passage into Sicily, and the succour they gave to the inhabitants of Messina, may be said to have been the first step by which they ascended to that height of glory and grandeur which they afterwards attained.

Hiero,† having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies thither. [A. M. 3743. A. Rom. 487.] Agrigentum was their place of arms; which being attacked by the Romans, was won by them, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.

Notwithstanding the advantage of this victory, and the conquest of so important a city,‡ the Romans were sensible, that whilst the Carthaginians should continue masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always side with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily. Besides, they saw with reluctance Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infested by the frequent incursions of its enemies. They now first formed the design of having a fleet, and of disputing the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance rash; but it evinces the courage and magnanimity of the Romans. They were not at that time possessed of a single vessel which they could call their own; and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were unexperienced in sea affairs, had no carpenters acquainted with the building of ships, and did not know even the shape of the Quinqueremes, or galleys with five benches of oars, in which the chief strength of fleets at that time consisted. But happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coasts of Italy, which served them as a model. They therefore applied themselves with incredible industry and ardour to the building of ships in the same form; and in the mean time they got together a set of rowers, who were taught an exercise and discipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made on the shore, in the same order and fashion with those of galleys. The rowers were seated on these benches, and taught, as if they had been furnished with oars, to throw themselves backwards with their arms drawn to their breasts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the instant their commanding officer gave the signal. In two months, one hundred

\* The Chevalier Folard examines the question in his remarks upon Polyb. l. i. p. 16.

† Polyb. lib. i. pag. 15—19.

‡ Id. pag. 20.



galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty of three benches, were built; and after some time had been spent in exercising the rowers on ship-board, the fleet put to sea, and went in quest of the enemy. The consul Duillius had the command of it.

The Romans coming up with the Carthaginians\* near the coast of Myle, [A. M. 3745. A. Rom. 489.] they prepared for an engagement. As the Roman galleys, by their being clumsily and hastily built, were neither very nimble nor easy to work; this inconvenience was supplied by a machine invented for this occasion, and afterwards known by the name of the *Corvus*† (Crow or Crane), by the help of which they grappled the enemies' ships, boarded them and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty sail, under the command of Hannibal.‡ He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, thoroughly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting; but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils, which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprised at the sight of the above-mentioned engines, raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which were entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw these engines drop down at once; and being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grapple them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the engagement, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They were unable to sustain the attack of the Romans: a horrible slaughter ensued; and the Carthaginians lost four-score vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping with difficulty in a small boat.

So considerable and unexpected a victory, raised the courage of the Romans, and seemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were bestowed on the consul Duillius who was the first Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him. A rostral pillar was erected in his honour, with a noble inscription; which pillar is yet standing in Rome.§

During the two following years,|| the Romans grew still stronger at sea, by their success in several engagements. But these were considered by them only as essays preparatory to the great design they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to divert so dangerous a blow, they resolved to fight the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius,¶ consuls for this year. [A. M. 3749. A. Rom. 493.] Their fleet consisted of

\* Polyb. lib. i. p. 22. † Ibid. ‡ A different person from the great Hannibal. § These pillars were called *Rostratæ*, from the beaks of ships with which they were adorned; *Rostæ*.

|| Polyb. l. i. p. 24. ¶ Id. l. i. p. 25.

three hundred and thirty vessels, on board of which were one hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel having three hundred rowers, and a hundred and twenty soldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had twenty vessels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily. No man could behold such formidable navies, or be a spectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under some concern, on seeing the danger which menaced two of the most powerful states in the world. As the courage on both sides was equal, and no great disparity in the forces, the fight was obstinate, and the victory long doubtful; but at last, the Carthaginians were overcome. More than sixty of their ships were taken by the enemy, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost twenty-four, not one of which fell into the enemy's hands.

The fruit of this victory,\* as the Romans had designed it, was their sailing to Africa, after having refitted their ships, and provided them with all necessaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country. They landed happily in Africa, and began the war by taking a town called Clypea, which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they overran the open country, in which they made terrible havoc; bringing away whole flocks of cattle and twenty thousand prisoners.

The express returned in the mean time with the orders of the senate, [A. M. 3750. A. Rom. 494.] who decreed, that Regulus should continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of Proconsul; and that his colleague should return with a great part of the fleet and the forces; leaving Regulus only forty vessels, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Their leaving the latter with so few ships and troops, was a visible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from this descent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus; and the joy was universal when it was known that he was continued in the command at Africa; he alone was afflicted on that account.† When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and desired, in the strongest terms, that he might be appointed a successor. His chief reason was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds, having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage, his presence was necessary for taking care of his little spot of ground (but seven acres), which was all his family subsisted upon. But the senate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expense; to maintain his wife and children; and to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the most rare and uncommon merit, and the highest employments of the state! Regulus, thus freed from his domestic cares, bent his whole thoughts on discharging the duty of a general.

After taking several castles,‡ he laid siege to Adis, one of the strongest

\* Polyb. p. 30.

† Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

‡ Polyb. l. i. p. 31—36.

fortresses of the country. The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands at pleasure, at last took the field, and marched against them, to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying the enemy; but, at the same time, by its situation, rendered one part of their army useless. For the strength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of descending from the hill; but, in order to take advantage of this essential mistake of the Carthaginian generals, fell upon them in this post; and after meeting with a feeble resistance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent country. Then, having taken Tunis,\* an important city, and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmost alarm. All things had succeeded ill with them, their forces had been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of two hundred towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides, the Numidians made greater havoc in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital besieged. And their affliction was increased by the concourse of peasants with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for safety: which gave them melancholy apprehensions of a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victories torn from him by a successor, made some proposal of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions appeared so hard, that they could not listen to them. As he did not doubt his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but, by an infatuation which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated them with haughtiness; and pretended, that every thing he suffered them to possess, ought to be esteemed a favour; adding this farther insult, 'That they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor.'† So harsh and disdainful a treatment only fired their

\* In the interval betwixt the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis, we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army, with a serpent of so prodigious a size, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The story of this serpent was elegantly written by Livy, but it is now lost. Valerius Maximus, however, partly repairs that loss; and in the last chapter of his first book, gives us this account of this monster from Livy himself. He (Livy) says, that on the banks of Bagrada (an African river) lay a serpent of so enormous a size, that kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several soldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many pressed to death in the spiral volumes of its tail. Its skin was impenetrable to darts: and it was with repeated endeavours that stones, slung from the military engines, at last killed it. The serpent then exhibited a sight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions than even Carthage itself. The streams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the stench of its putrified carcase infected the adjacent country, so that the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its skin, one hundred and twenty feet long was sent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be seen (together with the jaw-bone of the same monster, in the temple where they were first deposited) as late as the Numantine war.

† Δεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ νικᾶν, ἢ εἶκειν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. Diod. Eclog. xxiii. 10.



resolvement; and they resolved rather to die sword in hand, than to do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture, a reinforcement of auxiliary troops out of Greece, with Xanthippus, the Lacedæmonian, at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learnt the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request; had clearly discerned the occasion of its being lost; and perfectly informed himself in what the strength of Carthage consisted; he declared publicly, and repeated it often, in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the public council; the members of it were struck with them, and they requested him to attend them. He enforced his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed by the generals were visible to every one; and he proved as clearly, that, by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians; and Xanthippus was entreated, and, in some measure, forced to accept the command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, perform all the evolutions and movements of the military art; they were struck with astonishment, and owned, that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced, knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one, were lost in admiration; and, what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no alloy to it; the fear of the present danger, and the love of their country, stifling, without doubt, all other sentiments. The gloomy consternation which had before seized the whole army, was succeeded by joy and alacrity. The soldiers were urgent to be led against the enemy, in the firm assurance (as they said) of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the disgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not suffer their ardour to cool; and the sight of the enemy only inflamed it. When he had approached within little more than twelve hundred paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to show respect to the Carthaginian generals, by consulting them. All unanimously deferred to his opinion; upon which it was resolved to give the enemy battle the next day.

The Carthaginian army was composed of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about a hundred elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may be guessed from what goes before (for Polybius does not mention their numbers here), consisted of fifteen thousand foot and three hundred horse.

It must be a noble sight to see two armies like these before us, not overcharged with numbers, but composed of brave soldiers, and commanded by very able generals, engaged in battle. In those tumultuous fights, where two or three hundred thousand are engaged on both sides, confusion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidst a thousand events,



where chance generally seems to have a greater share than counsel, to discover the true merit of commanders, and the real causes of victory. But in such engagements as this before us, nothing escapes the curiosity of the reader ; for he clearly sees the disposition of the two armies ; imagines he almost hears the orders given out by the generals ; follows all the movements of the army ; can point out the faults committed on both sides ; and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the causes to which the victory or defeat is owing. The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear from the small number of the combatants, was nevertheless to decide the fate of Carthage.

The disposition of both armies was as follows :—Xanthippus drew up all his elephants in front. Behind these, at some distance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian service were posted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horse ; and the other, composed of light armed soldiers, in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

On the side of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants most, Regulus, to provide against them, posted his light armed soldiers, on a line, in the front of the legions. In the rear of these, he placed the cohorts one behind another, and the horse on the wings. In thus straitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a just precaution, says Polybius, against the elephants ; but he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the signal. Xanthippus orders the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy ; and commands the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after the manner of their country, advance against the enemy. Their cavalry did not stand the onset long, being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry on the left wing, to avoid the attack of the elephants, and show how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemies' right wing, attacks it, put it to flight, and pursues it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were broken and trodden under foot, after fighting valiantly ; and the rest of the main body stood firm for some time, by reason of its great depth. But when the rear, being attacked by the enemy's cavalry, was obliged to face about and receive it ; and those who had broken through the elephants, met the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides, and entirely defeated. The greatest part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants ; and the remainder, standing in the ranks, were shot through and through with arrows from the enemy's horse. Only a small number fled ; and as they were in an open country, the horse and elephants killed a great part of them. Five hundred, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken prisoners with him. The Carthaginians lost in this battle eight hundred mercenaries, who were opposed to the left wing of the Romans ; and of the latter only two thousand escaped, who, by their pursuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engage-

ment. All the rest, *Regulus* and those who were taken, excepted, were left dead in the field. The two thousand, who had escaped the slaughter, retired to *Clypea*, and were saved in an almost miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having stripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate *Regulus*, and five hundred prisoners. Their joy was so much the greater, as, but a very few days before, they had seen themselves upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young people crowded the temples, to return thanks to the immortal gods; and several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings.

*Xanthippus*, who had contributed so much to this happy change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might, after this first blaze, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are always dangerous, but most in a foreign country, when a man stands alone, unsustained by friends and relations, and destitute of all support.

*Polybius* tells us, that *Xanthippus's* departure was related in a different manner, and promises to take notice of it in another place: but that part of his history has not come down to us. We read in *Appian*,\* that the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and detestable jealousy of *Xanthippus's* glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they should stand indebted to *Sparta* for their safety; upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to his own country, with a numerous convoy of ships, gave private orders to have them all put to death in their passage; as if with him they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their horrid ingratitude to him.†

This battle, says *Polybius*,‡ though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, ought any man to put a great confidence in his good fortune, after he has considered the fate of *Regulus*? That general, insolent with victory, inexorable to the conquered, scarcely deigning to listen to them, saw himself a few days after vanquished by them, and made their prisoner. *Hannibal* suggested the same reflection to *Scipio*, when he ex-

\* *De Bell. Pun.* p. 30.

† This perfidious action, as it is related by *Appian*, may possibly be true, when we consider the character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But, if it be fact, one would wonder why *Polybius* should reserve for another occasion the relation of an incident which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of *Xanthippus*. His silence therefore in this place makes me think, that he intended to bring *Xanthippus* again upon the stage: and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by *Appian*. To this let me add, that it showed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians to take this method of dispatching him, when so many others offered which were less liable to censure. In this scheme formed for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers, were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian, to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.   ‡ *Lib. i.* p. 36, 37.

horted him not to be dazzled with the success of his arms. Regulus, said he, would have been recorded as one of the most uncommon instances of valour and felicity, had he, after the victory obtained in this very country, granted our fathers the peace which they sued for. But putting no bounds to his ambition and the insolence of success, the greater his prosperity, the more ignominious was his fall.\*

In the second place, the truth of the saying of Euripides is here seen in its full extent, 'That one wise head is worth a great many hands.'† A single man here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand, he defeats troops which were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city and an army, whom he had found in consternation and despair.

Such, as Polybius observes, is the use which ought to be made of the study of history. For there being two ways of acquiring improvement and instruction, first by one's own experience, and secondly by that of other men; it is much more wise and useful to improve by other men's miscarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finish what relates to him; Polybius, to our great disappointment, taking no farther notice of that general.‡

\* *Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cohibendo effertentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat eo fœdius corruit. Liv. l. xxx. n. 30.*

† *Ὅς ἐν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ.* It may not be improper to take notice in this place (as it was forgotten before) of a mistake of the learned Casaubon, in his translation of a passage of Polybius concerning Xanthippus. The passage is this: *Ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἐλάντιππον τινα Λακεδαιμόνιον ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεχηκότα, καὶ τριβὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα σύμμετρον.* Which is rendered thus by Casaubon: In quies [militibus sc. Græcia allatis] Xanthippus quidam fuit Lacedæmonius, vir disciplina Laconica imbutus, et qui rei militaris usum mediocrem habebat. Whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the sense of this passage to be, a man formed by the Spartan discipline, and proportionably [not moderately] skilful in military affairs.

‡ This silence of Polybius has prejudiced a great many learned men against many of the stories told of Regulus's barbarous treatment, after he was taken by the Carthaginians. M. Rollin speaks no further of this matter; and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers (as well historians as poets), and of Appian on this subject. First, it is urged, that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent concerning Regulus after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is further strengthened (say the adversaries of this belief) by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband in Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father, by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives (thought to be Bostar and Hamilcar) taken in the sea-fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regulus, and put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the senate, who detested the cruelty, survived, and was recovered to health. This treatment of



After being kept some years in prison,\* he was sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners. [A. M. 3755. A. Rom. 499.] He had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return in case he proved unsuccessful. He then acquainted the senate with the subject of his voyage; and being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he answered, that he could no longer do it as a senator, having lost both this quality, and that of a Roman citizen, from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies; but he did not refuse to offer his thoughts as a private person. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He needed only, says Cicero, to have spoken one word, and it would have restored him to his liberty, his estate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country; but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and welfare of the state. He therefore plainly declared, that an exchange of prisoners ought not to be so much as thought of: that such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic: that citizens who had so basely surrendered their arms to the enemy, were unworthy of the least compassion, and incapable of serving their country: that with regard to himself, as he was so far advanced in years, his death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals, in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great services for many years. It was with difficulty that the senate complied with so generous and unexampled a counsel. The illustrious exile therefore left Rome,† in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him. And indeed the moment his enemies saw him returned without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dismal dungeon, whence (after cutting off his eye-lids) they drew him at once into the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a kind of chest stuck full of nails, whose points wounding him, did not allow him a moment's ease either day or night. Lastly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his merciless enemies nailed him to a cross, their usual punishment, and left him to expire on it. Such was

the captives, and the resentment of the senate on that account, form a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus argued. Regulus dying in his captivity by the usual course of nature, his wife, thus frustrated of her hopes of redeeming him by the exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmost barbarity, in consequence of her belief of the ill usage which Regulus had received. The senate being angry with her for it, to give some colour to her cruelties, she gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her husband had died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports, increased gradually; and, from the national hatred betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans, was easily and generally believed by the latter. How far this is conclusive against the testimonies of two such weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca (to say nothing of the poets), is left to the judgment of the reader.

\* Appian. de Bello Pun. p. 2, 3. Cic. de Off. l. iii. n. 99, 100. Aud. Gel. l. vi. c. 4. Senec. Ep. 99. † Horat. l. iii. Od. 3.



the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of some days, perhaps years, of life, brought eternal infamy on themselves.

The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not discourage them.\* They made greater preparations than before to retrieve their loss; and put to sea, the following campaign, three hundred and sixty vessels. The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with two hundred; but were beaten in an engagement fought on the coasts of Sicily, and a hundred and fourteen of their ships were taken by the Romans. The latter sailed into Africa, to take in a few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus; and had defended themselves vigorously in Clupea,† where they had been unsuccessfully besieged.

Here again we are astonished that the Romans, after so considerable a victory, and with so large a fleet, should sail into Africa, only to bring from thence a small garrison; whereas they might have attempted the conquest of it, since Regulus, with much fewer forces, had almost completed it.

The Romans, on their return, were overtaken by a storm,‡ which almost destroyed their whole fleet. The like misfortune befel them also the following year.§ However, they consoled themselves for this double loss, by a victory which they gained over Asdrubal, from whom they took near a hundred and forty elephants. This news being brought to Rome, filled the whole city with joy; not only because the strength of the enemy's army was considerably diminished by the loss of their elephants, but chiefly because this victory had inspired the land forces with fresh courage: who, since the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement; so great was the terror with which those formidable animals had filled the minds of all the soldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls set sail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold design of besieging Lilybæum. This was the strongest town which the Carthaginians possessed, and the loss of it would be attended with that of every part of the island, and open to the Romans a free passage into Africa.

The reader will suppose,|| that the utmost ardour was shown, both in the assault and defence of the place. Imilcon was governor there, with ten thousand regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, soon brought him as many more from Carthage; he having, with the most intrepid courage, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port.

The Romans had not lost any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down several towers with their battering rams; and gaining ground daily, they made such progress as gave the besieged, who now were closely pressed, some fears. The governor saw plainly that there was no other way left to save the city but by firing the engines of the besiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enter-

\* Polyb. l. i. p. 37. † Or Clypea. ‡ Polyb. l. i. p. 38—40.

§ Polyb. p. 41, 42.

|| Ibid. l. i. p. 44—50.

prise, he sent them out at day-break with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combustible matters; and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans exerted their utmost efforts to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, assailant as well as defendant, stood to his post, and chose to die rather than quit it. At last, after a long resistance and dreadful slaughter, the besieged sounded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. This conflict being over, Hannibal embarked in the night, and, concealing his departure from the enemy, sailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageously situated; having a commodious port, and lying about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Lilybæum; and the Carthaginians had been always very desirous of preserving it.

The Romans, animated by their late success, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; the besieged not daring to make a second attempt to burn their machines, so much were they disheartened by the ill success of the former. But a furious wind rising suddenly, some mercenary soldiery represented to the governor that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers, especially as the wind blew full against them; and they offered themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furnished with every thing necessary. In a moment the fire caught all the engines; and the Romans could not possibly extinguish it, because the flames being spread instantly every where, the wind carried the sparks and smoke full in their eyes, so that they could not see where to apply relief; whereas their enemies saw clearly where to aim their strokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans lose all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the siege into a blockade; raised a strong line of contravallation round the town; and, dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect by time, what they found themselves absolutely unable to perform any other way.

When the transaction of the siege of Lilybæum,\* and the loss of part of the forces were known at Rome, the citizens, so far from desponding at this ill news, seemed to be fired with new vigour. Every man strove to be foremost in the muster-roll; so that, in a very little time, an army of ten thousand men was raised, who, crossing the strait, marched by land to join the besiegers.

At the same time, [A. M. 3756. A. Rom. 500.] P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum.† He thought himself sure of surprising him, because, after the loss lately sustained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine that they would venture out again at sea. Flushed with these hopes, he sailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his design. But he had to do with an active general, whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him whilst his fleet was in disorder and confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman

\* Polyb. p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 51.

fleet only thirty vessels got off, which being in company with the consul, fled with him, and got away in the best manner they could along the coast. All the rest, amounting to fourscore and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians, a few soldiers excepted, who had escaped from the wreck of their vessels. This victory displayed as much the prudence and valour of Adherbal, as it reflected shame and ignominy on the Roman consul.

Junius,\* his colleague, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himself, but lost his whole fleet by his ill conduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some considerable action, he held a secret correspondence with the inhabitants of Eryx,† and by that means got the city surrendered to him. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, which was certainly the most beautiful as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the only access to it was by a road very long and very rugged. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he now had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the enemy, and there fortified himself. From this advantageous post he harassed the Romans incessantly for two years. One can scarce conceive how it was possible for the Carthaginians to defend themselves, when thus attacked from both the summit and foot of the mountain; and unable to get provisions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By such enterprises as these, the abilities and prudent courage of a general, are as well, or perhaps better discovered, than by the winning of a battle.

For five years‡ nothing memorable was performed on either side. The Romans had imagined that their land forces would alone be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum: but as they saw it protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their first plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb: but this want was supplied by the zeal of individuals; so ardent was the love which the Romans bore their country. Every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expense; and, upon public security, advanced money, without the least scruple, for an expedition on which the glory and safety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ship at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; so that, in a very little time, two hundred were ready for sailing [A. M. 3736. A. Rom. 507]. The command was given to Lutatius the consul, who immediately put to sea. The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa: the consul therefore easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum; and foreseeing that he should soon be forced to fight, he omitted no precautions to ensure success; and employed the interval in exercising his soldiers and seamen at sea.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the

\* Polyb. l. i. p. 54—59.

† A city and mountain in Sicily.

‡ Polyb. l. i. 59—62.



command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called *Iliera*, opposite to *Drepanum*. His design was to reach *Eryx* undiscovered by the Romans, in order to supply the army there; to reinforce his troops, and take *Barca* on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul, suspecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having assembled all his best forces, sailed for the small island *Ægusa*,\* which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow. Accordingly, at day-break, he prepared to engage: unfortunately the wind was favourable for the enemy, which made him hesitate whether he should give him battle. But considering that the Carthaginian fleet, when unloaded of its provisions, would become lighter and more fit for action; and besides, would be considerably strengthened by the force and presence of *Barca*, he came to a resolution at once; and notwithstanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The consul had choice forces, able seamen, and excellent ships, built after the model of a gallery, that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the completest in its kind that had ever been seen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were destitute of all these advantages. As they had been the entire masters at sea for some years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they held them in the highest contempt, and looked upon themselves as invincible. On the first report of the enemy being in motion, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, as appeared from every circumstance of it: the soldiers and seamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the least experience, resolution, or zeal, since it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This soon appeared in the engagement. They could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with their whole crews. The rest, favoured by a wind which rose very seasonably for them, made the best of their way to the little island from whence they had sailed. There were upwards of ten thousand taken prisoners. The consul sailed immediately for *Lilybæum*, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned so much the greater surprise and terror, as it was less expected. The senate, however, did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions, or reinforcements, to the armies in Sicily. An express was therefore immediately dispatched to *Barca*, the general there, empowering him to act as he should think proper. *Barca*, so long as he had room to entertain the least hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, says Polybius, consists in knowing how to resist and yield at a seasonable juncture. *Lutatius* was not insensible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhausted them both of men and money; and the dreadful consequences which had attended on *Regulus's* inexorable and imprudent obstinacy, were fresh in

\* These islands are also called *Ægates*.



his memory. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:—

‘ There shall be a peace between Rome and Carthage (in case the Roman people approve of it) on the following conditions:—The Carthaginians shall evacuate all Sicily; shall no longer make war upon Hiero, the Syracusans, or their allies: they shall restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners which they have taken from them; and pay them, within twenty years, two thousand two hundred \* Euboic talents of silver.’†

It is worth the reader’s remarking, by the way, the simple, exact, and clear terms in which this treaty is expressed; that in so short a compass, adjusts the interests of two powerful republics and their allies, both by sea and land.

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people not approving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily to terminate the affair. These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty;‡ only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years: a thousand talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which were to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the islands situated between Italy and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty; but they gave it up by another treaty which was made some years afterwards.

[A. M. 3763. A. Carth. 605. A. Rom. 507. Ant. J. C. 241.]—Such was the conclusion of a war, one of the longest mentioned in history, since it continued twenty-four years without intermission. The obstinacy, in disputing for empire, was equal on either side: the same resolution, the same greatness of soul, in forming as well as in executing of projects, being conspicuous on both sides. The Carthaginians had the superiority in their acquaintance with naval affairs; in their skill in the construction of their vessels; the working of them; the experience and capacity of their pilots; the knowledge of coasts, shallows, roads, and winds; and in the inexhaustible fund of wealth, which furnished all the expenses of so long and obstinate a war. The Romans had none of these advantages; but their courage, zeal for the public good, love of their country, and a noble emulation of glory, supplied all other deficiencies. We are astonished to see a nation so raw and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only making head against a people who were better skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before: but even gaining several victories over them at sea. No difficulties or calamities could discourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumstances under which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign dispirits the latter; whereas the Romans are not shaken by a succession of them.

As to soldiers, there was no comparison between those of Rome and Carthage, the former being infinitely superior in point of courage. Among the generals who commanded in this war, Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, was, doubtless, the most conspicuous for his bravery and prudence.

\* This sum amounts to near six millions one hundred and eighty thousand French livres. † 515,000*l.* English money. ‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 182.

The war which the Carthaginians waged against the Romans,\* was succeeded immediately by another,† which, though of much shorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heat of the republic, and attended with such cruelty and barbarity, as is scarce to be paralleled in history; I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to sustain against their mercenary troops, who had served under them in Sicily, and which is commonly called the African or Libyan war.‡ It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The occasion of it was this:—

As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans,§ Hamilcar having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission; and left to Gisco, governor of the place, the care of transporting these forces into Africa. Gisco, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them all off at once; but in small and separate parties; in order that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home, before the arrival of the rest. This conduct evinced great forecast and wisdom, but was not seconded equally at Carthage. As the republic had been exhausted by the expense of a long war, and the payment of near one hundred and thirty thousand pounds to the Romans on signing the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from them (when they should be altogether), a remission of some part of their arrears. This was the oversight.

Here we discover the genius of a state composed of merchants, who know the full value of money, but are little acquainted with that of the services of soldiers; who bargain for blood, as though it were an article of trade, and always go to the cheapest market. In such a republic, when an exigency is once answered, the merit of services is no longer remembered.

These soldiers, most of whom came to Carthage, having been long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which, it was proposed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town call Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till the arrival of the rest of their companions; and that then they should all be paid off, and sent home. This was a second oversight.

A third was, the refusing to let them leave their baggage, their wives, and children in Carthage, as they desired; and the forcing them to remove these to Sicca; whereas, had they staid in Carthage, they would have been in a manner so many hostages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began (having little else to do) to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made amount to much more than was really due to them. To this computation, they added the mighty promises which had been made them at different times, as an encouragement for them to do their duty: and pretended that these like-

\* Polyb. l. i. p. 65—69.

† The same year that the first Punic war ended.

‡ And sometimes *ξενικόν*, or the war with the mercenaries.

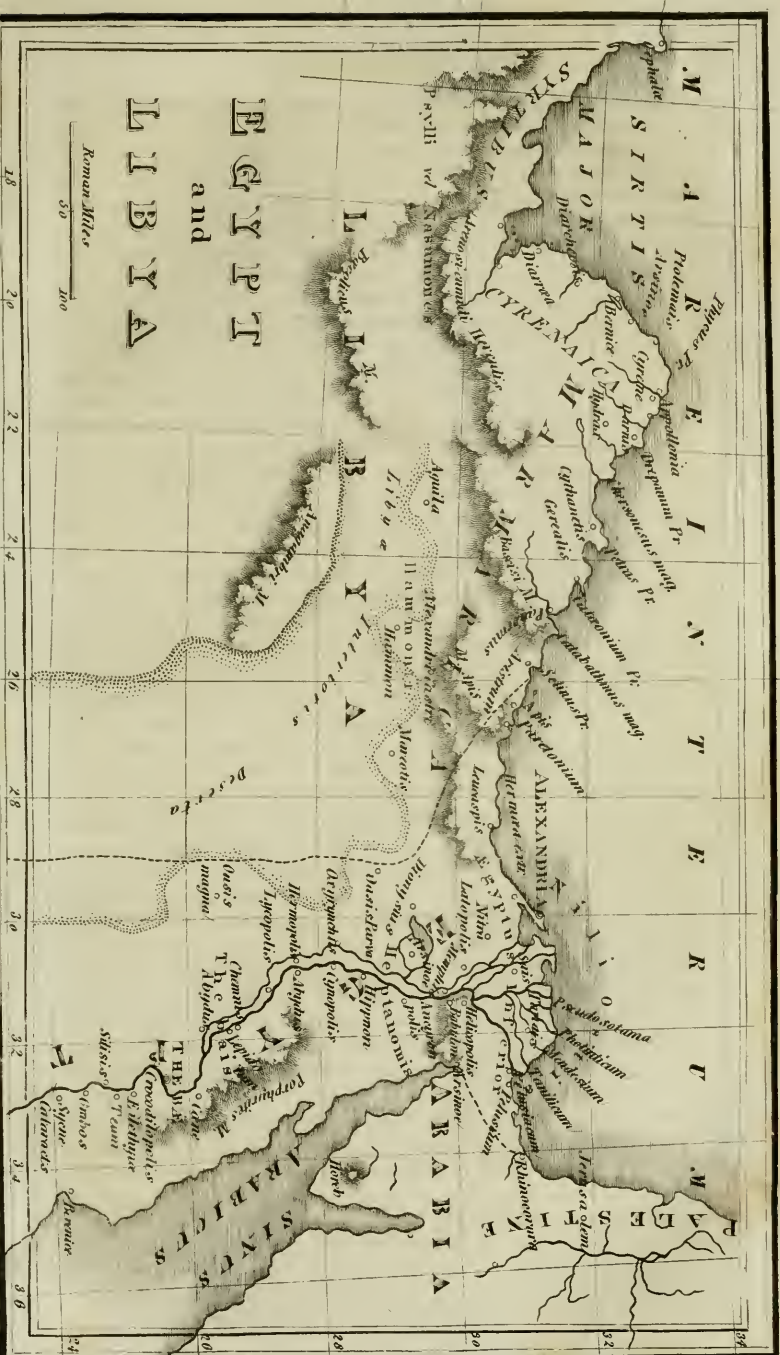
§ Polyb. l. i. p. 66.

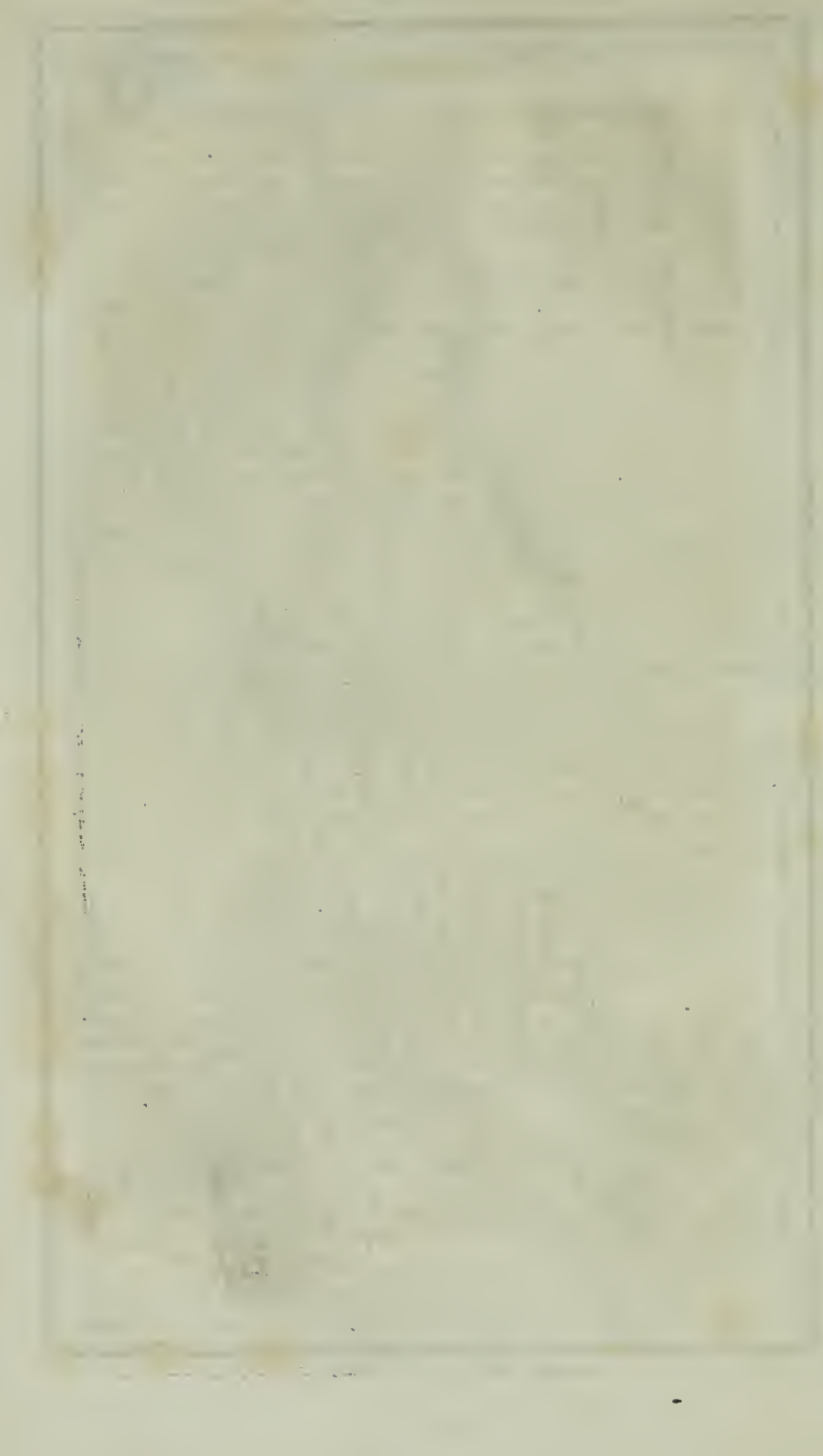
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wise ought to be brought into the account. Hanno, who was then governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to them to consent to some abatement of their arrears; and to content themselves with receiving a part, in consideration of the great distress to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its present unhappy circumstances. The reader will easily guess how such a proposal was received. Complaints, murmurs, seditious and insolent clamours, were every where heard. These troops being composed of different nations, who were strangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reason when they once mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; inhabitants of the Balearic isles; Greeks, the greatest part of them slaves or deserters, and a very great number of Africans, composed these mercenary forces. Transported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage (being upwards of twenty thousand), and encamp at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians discovered too late their error. There was no compliance, how grovelling soever, to which they did not stoop, to soothe these exasperated soldiers: who, on their side, practised every knavish art which could be thought of, in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some new demand. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them, they still would be reimbursed for the losses which they pretended to have sustained, either by the death of their horses, by the excessive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and still insisted on the recompense which had been promised them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they pitched upon Gisgo, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service; the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and granted almost all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of those was Spendius, a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and had fled to the Carthaginians. He was tall and bold. The fear he was under, of falling into the hands of his former master, by whom he was sure to be hanged (as was the custom), prompted him to break off the agreement. He was seconded by one Matho,\* who had been very active in forming the conspiracy. These two represented to the Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common

\* Matho was an African, and free born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He, therefore, despairing of a pardon, embraced the interests of Spendius with more zeal than any of the rebels; and first insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a peace, as this would leave them alone, and exposed to the rage of their old masters. Polyb. p. 98. edit. Gronov.

rebellion, This was sufficient to raise them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Mathro for their chiefs. No remonstrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any, was immediately put to death. They ran to Gisgo's tent, plundered it of the money designed for the payment of the forces; dragged that general himself to prison, with all his attendants; after having treated them with the utmost indignities.

All the cities of Africa, to whom they had sent deputies to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which they therefore immediately besieged.

Carthage had never been before exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens individually drew each his subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid by Africa. But all this was stopped at once; and (a much worse circumstance) was turned against them. They found themselves destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations either for sustaining of a siege, or the equipping of a fleet; and to complete their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign assistance, either from their friends or allies.

They might in some sense impute to themselves the distress to which they were reduced. During the last war, they had treated the African nations with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty and extreme misery; and governors, such as Hanno, were treated with the greater respect, the more severe they had been in levying those tributes. So that no great efforts were necessary to prevail upon the Africans to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men; and with pleasure gave up all their ornaments towards the expenses of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves still in the midst of plenty: an instructive lesson, says Polybius, to ministers, how a people should be treated; as it teaches them to look, not only to the present occasion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their present distress, did not despond, but made the most extraordinary efforts. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and sea; horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; mercenaries were invited from all parts; and all the ships which the republic had left were refitted.

The rebels discovered no less ardour. We related before, that they had formed the siege of the two only cities which refused to join them. Their army was now increased to seventy thousand men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on those sieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis; and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, filling it with perpetual alarms, and frequently advancing up to its very walls by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of it, might have proved

decisive: but entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who had retreated to a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them; found the soldiers straggling in all parts; took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the supplies that had been brought from Carthage for the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, in such critical junctures, are much the most fatal. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, was therefore appointed to succeed him. This general answered the idea which had been entertained of him; and his first success was the obliging the rebels to raise the siege of Utica. He then marched against their army which was encamped near Carthage; defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts. These successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who, out of esteem for the person and merit of Barca, joined him with two thousand Numidians, was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had cooped him up in a valley; killed ten thousand of them, and took four thousand prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this battle. Barca took into his troops as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest free liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never take up arms any more against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every man of them, if taken, should be put to death. This conduct proves the wisdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme severity. And indeed where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greatest part of whom have been drawn in by the persuasions of the most hot-headed, or through fear of the most furious, clemency seldom fails of being successful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this affected lenity of Barca might occasion a defection among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be, to strike some signal blow, which would deprive them of all hopes of being ever reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him, of a secret design concerted betwixt some of their comrades and Gisgo for rescuing him out of prison, where he had been so long detained; he brought them to the barbarous resolution of murdering him and all the rest of the prisoners; and any man, who durst offer any milder counsel, was immediately sacrificed to their fury. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and seven hundred prisoners who were confined with him, were brought out to the front of the camp, where Gisgo fell the first sacrifice, and afterwards all the rest. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broken, and their bodies, still breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to pay them the last sad office, but were refused; and the herald was further told, that whoever presumed to come upon the like errand, should meet with Gisgo's fate. And, indeed, the rebels immediately came to the unanimous resolution of treating all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and decreed farther, that if any of their allies were taken, they



should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage. This bloody resolution was but too punctually executed.

The Carthaginians were now just beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their spirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals ; and the provisions, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea, were all cast away in a storm. But the misfortune which they most keenly felt, was, the sudden defection of the two only cities which till then had preserved their allegiance, and in all times adhered inviolably to the commonwealth. These were Utica and Hippacra. These cities, without the least reason, or even so much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels ; and, transported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governor, with the garrison sent to their relief ; and carried their inhumanity so far, as to refuse their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them back in order for burial.

The rebels, animated by so much success, laid siege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raise it. They nevertheless continued the war. Having drawn together, into one body, all their own troops and those of the allies (making upwards of fifty thousand men in all), they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully kept their own on the hills ; and avoided coming down into the plains, because the enemy would there have had too great an advantage over them, on account of their elephants and cavalry. Hamilcar, more skilful in the art of war than they, never exposed himself to any of their attacks ; but taking advantage of their oversights, often dispossessed them of their posts, if their soldiers straggled but ever so little ; and harassed them a thousand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands, were thrown to wild beasts. At last, he surprised them at a time when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and intrenchments. But an enemy among themselves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greatest extremity : this was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last ate one another ; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus revenging upon themselves the barbarous cruelty they had exercised on others. They now had no resource left ; and knew but too well the punishments which would be inflicted on them, in case they should fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After such bloody scenes as had been acted by them, they did not so much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had sent to their forces encamped at Tunis for assistance, but with no success. In the mean time the famine increased daily. They had first eaten their prisoners, then their slaves ; and now their fellow-citizens only were left. Their chiefs, now no longer able to resist the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatened to massacre them if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe-conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels, to treat them as they should think fit, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. When the treaty was signed, the



chiefs themselves were arrested and detained by the Carthaginians, who plainly shewed, on this occasion, that they did not pride themselves upon their good faith and sincerity. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were seized, and knowing nothing of the convention, suspected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having surrounded them, brought forward his elephants; and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of forty thousand.

The consequence of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which ever since the beginning of the war, had been the asylum of the rebels, and their place of arms. He invested it on one side, whilst Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be set up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been seized with him, on the rest, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, saw plainly by this what he himself might expect; and for that reason was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of success, was very negligent in all his motions, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments; and sacrificed round the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first quality in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude, that there had been a mutual emulation betwixt the contending parties, which of them should out-do the other in acts of the most barbarous cruelty.

Barca being at that time at a distance, it was long before the news of his colleague's misfortune reached him; and besides, the road lying betwixt the two camps being impassable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. This disastrous accident caused a great consternation in Carthage. The reader may have observed, in the course of this war, a continual vicissitude of prosperity and adversity, of security and fear, of joy and grief; so various and inconstant were the events on either side.

In Carthage it was thought advisable to make one bold effort. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar; and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals, in the name of the republic, to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentments to their country's welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled sincerely to one another.

From this time, the Carthaginians were successful in all things; and Matho, who in every attempt after this came off with disadvantage, at last thought himself obliged to hazard a battle; and this was just what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement ensued. Victory was not long in suspense; for the

rebels every where giving ground, the Africans were almost all slain, and the rest surrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; however, they were soon forced to surrender at discretion.

And now the victorious army returned to Carthage, and was there received with shouts of joy, and the congratulations of the whole city. Matho and his soldiers, after having adorned the public triumph, were led to execution; and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackest treasons and unparalleled barbarities. Such was the conclusion of the war against the mercenaries, after having lasted three years and four months. It furnished, says Polybius, an ever-memorable lesson to all nations, not to employ in their armies a greater number of mercenaries than citizens; nor to rely, for the defence of their state, on a body of men who are not attached to it either by interest or affection.

I have hitherto purposely deferred taking notice of such transactions in Sardinia as passed at the time I have been speaking of, and which were, in some measure, dependent on, and resulting from, the war waged in Africa against the mercenaries. They exhibit the same violent methods to promote rebellion; the same excesses of cruelty; as if the wind had carried the same spirit of discord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island also shook off the yoke, in imitation of these incendiaries. They began by the murder of Bostar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent; but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels; hung the general on a cross; and, throughout the whole island, put all the Carthaginians to the sword, after having made them suffer inexpressible torments. They then besieged all the cities one after another, and soon got possession of the whole country. But feuds arising between them and the natives, the mercenaries were driven entirely out of the island, and took refuge in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, an island of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever since their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved towards them with great justice and moderation. A slight quarrel, on account of some Roman merchants who were seized at Carthage for having supplied the enemy with provisions, had embroiled them a little. But these merchants being restored on the first complaint made to the senate of Carthage; the Romans, who prided themselves upon their justice and generosity on all occasions, made the Carthaginians a return of their former friendship; served them to the utmost of their power; forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions; and even refused to listen to the proposals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take possession of the island.

But these scruples and delicacy wore off by degrees; and Cæsar's advantageous testimony (in Sallust) of their honesty and plain dealing, could not, with any propriety, be applied here: \* 'Although,' says he,

\* *Bellis Punicis omnibus, cum sæpe Carthaginenses et in pace et per*





*Hannibal swearing enmity to the Romans.*

*London. Published by Cowie & Strange, 24. Fetter Lane.*



\* in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never (how inviting soever the opportunity might be) be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage; being more attentive to their own glory, than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies.'

[A. M. 3767. A. Carth. 609. A. Rom. 511. Ant. J. C. 237.] The mercenaries, who, as was observed, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at last to the resolution of sailing over into Sardinia, to render themselves masters of it. The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at the news, upon pretence that they had a more just title to Sardinia than the Romans; they therefore put themselves in a posture to take a speedy and just revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. But the Romans, pretending that these preparations were made not against Sardinia, but their state, declared war against the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhausted in every respect, and scarce beginning to breathe, were in no condition to sustain a war. The necessity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A fresh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of twelve hundred talents, to keep off the war with which they were menaced. This injustice of the Romans was the true cause of the second Punic war, as will appear in the sequel.

#### THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The second Punic war,\* which I am now going to relate, is one of the most memorable recorded in history, and most worthy the attention of an inquisitive reader; whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the wisdom employed in the execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their lowest ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain issue of so long and bloody a war; or lastly, the assemblage of the most perfect models in every kind of merit; and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, either with regard to war, policy, or government. Never did two more powerful, or at least more warlike, states or nations make war against each other; and never had these in question seen themselves raised to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtless, at that time, the two first states of the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been most in danger of being ruined. Great as the forces of these two nations were, it may almost be said, that their mutual hatred was still greater. The Romans, on one side, could not without indignation see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the equally rapacious and harsh treatment which they pretended to have received from the victor.

*inducias multa nefanda facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis quod se dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant.* Sallust. in bell. Catilin. \* Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

The plan which I have laid down does not permit me to enter into an exact detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, were the several seats; and which has a still closer connection with the Roman history than with that I am now writing. I shall confine myself therefore, principally, to such transactions as relate to the Carthaginians, and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greatest warrior that antiquity has to boast of.

THE REMOTE AND MORE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Before I come to speak of the declaration of war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, I think it necessary to explain the true causes of it; and to point out by what steps this rupture, betwixt these two nations was so long preparing, before it openly broke out.

That man would be grossly mistaken, says Polybius,\* who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for having so tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage of the troubles excited in Africa, to dispossess the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and to impose a new tribute on them; and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain; these were the true causes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy† (agreeing here with Polybius) insinuates in a few words, in the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.

And indeed Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, was highly exasperated on account of the last treaty, which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit to; and he therefore meditated the design of taking just, though distant measures, for breaking it on the first favourable opportunity that should offer.

When the troubles of Africa were appeased,‡ he was sent upon an expedition against the Numidians; in which, giving fresh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. Hannibal, his son, at that time but nine years of age,§ begged with the utmost importunity to attend him on this occasion; and for that purpose employed all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a tender father. Hamilcar could not refuse him; and after having made him swear upon the altars, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans as soon as age would allow him to do it, he took his son with him.

Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added a most engaging and insinuating behaviour. He subdued, in a very short time, the greatest part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms or his engaging conduct; and after enjoying the command there

\* Lib. iii. p. 162—168. † Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: Nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione reum concessam; et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam superimposito, interceptam. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1. ‡ Polyb. l. ii. p. 90. § Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

nine years, came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying gloriously in arms for the cause of his country.

[A. M. 3776. A. Rom. 520.]—The Carthaginians appointed Asdrubal,\* his son-in-law, to succeed him. This general, to strengthen his footing in the country, built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbour, its fortifications, and opulence, occasioned by its great commerce, became one of the most considerable cities in the world. It was called New Carthage, and is at this day known by the name of Carthagera.

From the several steps of these two great generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some mighty design which they had always in view, and laid their schemes at a great distance for the putting it in execution. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence and torpor, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy; at a time that the enemy were rapidly pursuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very well pleased to attack them by open force, and to wrest their conquests out of their hands; but the fear of another (not less formidable) enemy, the Gauls, whom they expected shortly to see at their very gates, kept them from shewing their resentment. They therefore had recourse to negociations; and concluded a treaty with Asdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conquests beyond the Iberus.

Asdrubal,† in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests, still, however, taking care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty; but by sparing no endeavours to win the chiefs of the several nations by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he furthered the interests of Carthage still more by persuasive methods than force of arms. But, unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took so barbarous a revenge for a private grudge he bore him.‡

[A. M. 3783. A. Rom. 530.]—Three years before his death,§ he had written to Carthage, to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. The proposal met with some difficulty, as the senate was divided betwixt two powerful factions, which, from Hamilcar's time, had began to follow opposite views in the administration and affairs of the state. One faction was headed by Hanno, whose birth, merit, and zeal for the public welfare, gave him great influence in the public deliberations. This faction proposed, on every occasion, the concluding of a safe peace, and the preserving the conquests in Spain, as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expensive war, which

\* Polyb. l. ii. p. 101.

† Polyb. l. ii. p. 123. L'il. l. xxi. n. 2.

‡ The murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whose master had fallen by the hand of Asdrubal. It was perpetrated in public; and the murderer being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a satisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge so successfully, that he seemed to ridicule all the terror of his torments. 'Eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante lætitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem præbuerit.'—Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

§ Liv. l. xxi. n. 3, 4.



they foresaw would one day occasion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, because it supported the interests of Barca and his family, had, to the credit and influence which it had long enjoyed in the city, added the reputatation which the signal exploits of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had given it, and declared openly for war. When, therefore, Asdrubal's demand came to be debated in the senate, Hanno represented the danger of sending so early into the field, a young man who already possessed all the haughtiness and imperious temper of his father; and who ought, therefore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully under the eye of the magistrate and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modesty which should teach him not to think himself superior to all other men. He concluded with saying, that he feared this spark, which was then kindling, would one day rise to a conflagration. His remonstrances were not heard, so that the Barcinian faction had the superiority, and Hannibal set out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father revive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial vigour displayed itself in the air of his countenance, with the same features and engaging carriage. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and, a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition and cast of mind were so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearer to the soldiers or the generals. He served three campaigns under Asdrubal.

Upon the death of that general,\* [A. M. 3784. A. Carth. 626. A. Rom. 528.] the suffrages of both the army and people concurred in raising Hannibal to the supreme command. I know not whether it was not even then, or about that time, that the republic, to heighten his influence and authority, appointed him one of its Suffetes, the first dignity of the state, which was sometimes conferred upon generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos† that we have borrowed this circumstance of his life, who, speaking of the prætorship bestowed upon Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage, and the conclusion of the peace, says, that this was twenty-two years after he had been nominated king.‡

The moment he was created general, Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he had even then been appointed to make war upon the Romans, turned secretly his whole views on that side; and lost no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took several strong towns, and conquered many nations: and although the Spaniards greatly exceeded him in the number of forces (their army amounting to upwards of a hundred thousand men), yet he chose his time and posts so judiciously, that he entirely

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 168, 169. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3—5. † In Vit. Annib. c. 7.

‡ 'Hic, ut rediit, Prætor factus est, postquam rex fuerat anno secundo et vigesimo.'



defeated them. After this victory, every thing submitted to his arms. But he still forbore laying siege to Saguntum,\* carefully avoiding every occasion of a rupture with the Romans, till he should have taken every step which he judged necessary for so important an enterprise, pursuant to the advice given him by his father. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generously allotting them a large share of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by scrupulously paying them all their arrears:† a wise step, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper season.

The Saguntines,‡ on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, informed the Romans of the progress of Hannibal's conquests. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and acquaint themselves with the state of affairs upon the spot; they commanded them also to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, that then they should go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, foreseeing that great advantages would accrue from the taking of this city. He was persuaded that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying on the war in Spain; that this new conquest would secure those he had already made; that as no enemy would be left behind him, his march would be more secure and unmolested; that he should find money enough in it for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with greater cheerfulness; that, lastly, the spoils which he should send to Carthage, would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with the utmost vigour. He himself set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

News was soon carried to Rome that Saguntum was besieged. But the Romans, instead of flying to its relief, lost their time in fruitless debates, and in deputations equally fruitless. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leisure to hear them; they therefore repaired to Carthage, but met with no better reception, the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaints of the Romans, and all the remonstrances of Hanno.

During all these voyages and negociations, the siege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntines were now reduced to the last extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon proposed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh that the Saguntines could not prevail upon themselves to accept them.

\* This city lay on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, very near the mouth of that river, and in a country where the Carthaginians were allowed to make war; but Saguntum, as an ally of the Romans, was excepted from all hostilities, by virtue of the late treaty.

† 'Ibi large partiendo prædam, stipendia præterita cum fide exsolvendo, cunctos civium sociorumque animos in se firmavit.'—Liv. l. xxi. n. 5.

‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 170—173. Liv. l. xxi. n. 6—15.

Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards rushed headlong into it themselves. At the same time, a tower, which had been long assaulted by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But, notwithstanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils gained by his victories, but applied them solely to the carrying on his enterprises. Accordingly, Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of service to him, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, by the sight of the rich booty which they had just obtained, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled all the principal persons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large presents he made to them out of the spoils.

Words could never express\* the grief and consternation with which the melancholy news of the capture and cruel fate of Saguntum was received at Rome. Compassion for this unfortunate city, shame for having failed to succour such faithful allies, a just indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of all these calamities; a strong alarm raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they saw already at their gates; all these sentiments caused so violent an emotion, that during the first moments of their agitation, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution, or do any thing but give way to the torrent of their passion, and sacrifice floods of tears to the memory of a city which fell the victim of its inviolable fidelity† to the Romans, and had been betrayed by the unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimously against the Carthaginians.

#### WAR PROCLAIMED.

That no ceremony might be wanting,‡ deputies were sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by order of the republic, and if so, to declare war; or, in case this siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he should be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving that the senate gave no direct answer to their demands, one of them, taking up the folded lappet of his robe, ‘I bring here,’ says he, in a haughty tone, ‘either peace or war: the choice is left to yourselves.’ The senate answering, that they left the choice to him: ‘I give you war then,’ says he, unfolding his robe. ‘And we,’ replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, ‘as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness.’ Such was the beginning of the second Punic war.

If the cause of this war§ should be ascribed to the taking of Saguntum, the whole blame, says Polybius, lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, besiege a city that was in alliance

\* Polyb. p. 174, 175. Liv. l. xxi. n. 16, 17.

† ‘Sanctitate disciplinæ, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt.’—Liv. l. xxi. n. 7. ‡ Polyb. p. 117. Liv. l. xxi. n. 18, 19.

§ Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 185.

with Rome, and as such comprehended in the treaty, which forbade either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But should the origin of this war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were dispossessed of Sardinia by the Romans, and a new tribute was so unreasonably imposed on them; it must be confessed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjustifiable on these two points, as being founded merely on violence and injustice; and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourse to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded satisfaction upon these two grievances, and upon their being refused it, had declared war against Rome; in that case, reason and justice had been entirely on their side.

The interval between the conclusion of the first, and the beginning of the second Punic war, was twenty-four years.

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

When the war was resolved upon,\* [A. M. 3787. A. Carth. 629. A. Rom. 531. Ant. J. C. 217.] and proclaimed on both sides, Hannibal, who then was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, before he discovered his grand design, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa. With this view, he marched the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a persuasion that these soldiers, being thus at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service; and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hostages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about forty thousand men, twelve hundred whereof were cavalry. Those of Spain were something above fifteen thousand, of which two thousand five hundred and fifty were horse. He left the command of the Spanish forces to his brother Asdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coasts; and, at the same time, gave him the wisest directions for his conduct, whether with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in case they should attack him.

Livy observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge some vows which he had made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was entering upon. Polybius gives us,† in few words, a very clear idea of the distance of the several places through which Hannibal was to march in his way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he set out to the Iberus, were computed two thousand two hundred‡ furlongs.§ From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separates Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo,|| were sixteen hundred furlongs. From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like space of sixteen hundred furlongs.¶ From the pass of the Rhone to

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 22, 22. + Lib. iii. p. 192, 193.

† 275 miles. § Polybius makes the distance from New Carthage to be 2,600 furlongs; consequently, the whole number of furlongs will be 8,400, or (allowing 625 feet to the furlong) 914 English miles, and almost one-third.—See Polybius, edit. Gronov. p. 267. || L. iii. p. 199. ¶ 200 miles.



the Alps, fourteen hundred furlongs.\* From the Alps to the plains of Italy, twelve hundred furlongs.† Thus from New Carthage to the plains of Italy, were eight thousand furlongs.‡

Hannibal had long before taken§ the prudent precaution of acquainting himself with the nature and situation of the places through which he was to pass; of sounding how the Gauls stood affected to the Romans; of winning over their chiefs, whom he knew to be very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them;|| and of securing to himself the affection and fidelity of one part of the nations through whose country his march lay. He was not ignorant that the passage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties; but he knew they were not unsurmountable, and that was enough for his purpose.

Hannibal began his march early in the spring,¶ from New Carthage, where he had wintered. His army then consisted of above a hundred thousand men, of which twelve thousand were cavalry, and he had near forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march, and lost a considerable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with eleven thousand men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those that were to follow him. He dismissed the like number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affections when he should want recruits, and affording to the rest a sure hope that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse; a formidable army, but less so from the number than from the valour of the troops that composed it; troops who had served several years in Spain, and learned the art of war under the ablest captains that Carthage could ever boast.

#### PASSAGE OF THE RHONE.

Hannibal being arrived\*\* within four days march from the mouth of the Rhone,†† attempted to cross it, because the river in this place took up only the breadth of its channel. He brought up all the ship-boats and little vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number, because of their commerce. He likewise built, with great diligence, a prodigious number of boats, little vessels, and rafts. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of his attacking them in front. He therefore ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to pass the river higher up; and in order to conceal his march, and the design he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things

\* 175 miles. † 150 miles. ‡ 1,000 miles. § Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 189.

|| ‘Audierunt præoccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse: sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, ni subinde auro, ejus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur.’—Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

¶ Polyb. 189, 190. Liv. l. xxi. n. 22—24.

\*\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 270—274. edit. Gronov. Liv. l. xxi. 26—28.

†† A little above Avignon.



succeeded as he had planned; and they passed the river\* the next day without the least opposition.

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night they advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely harnessed, were put into boats, that their riders might, on landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which, one man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry crossed the river either on rafts, or in small boats, and in a kind of gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees which they themselves had made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage to the rest of the small fleet. When the Gauls saw it advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, uttered dreadful cries and howlings; and clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against the other, let fly a shower of darts. But they were prodigiously astonished when they heard a great noise behind them, perceived their tents on fire, and saw themselves attacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left to save themselves but by flight, and accordingly retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river quietly, and without any opposition.

The elephants alone occasioned a great deal of trouble. They were wafted over the next day in the following manner:—From the bank of the river was thrown a raft, two hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth; this was fixed strongly to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this first raft they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only a hundred feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first raft, and the males followed after; and when they were got upon the second raft, it was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore, and not a single elephant was drowned.

#### THE MARCH AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE RHONE.

The two Roman consuls† had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain with sixty ships, two Roman legions, fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily, with a hundred and sixty ships, two legions, sixteen thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse of the allies. The Roman legion consisted, at that time, of four thousand foot and three hundred horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a sea-port town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident that he should

\* It is thought this was betwixt Roquemaure and Point St. Esprit.

† Polyb. l. iii. p. 200—202, &c. Liv. l. xxi. n. 31, 32.

find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war. But he was greatly astonished, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, advice was brought him that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached three hundred horse, to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horse for the same purpose; during which, some of his soldiers were employed in wafting over the elephants.

At the same time he gave audience, in the presence of his whole army, to one of the princes of that part of Gaul which is situated near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was impatiently expected; that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans, and he himself offered to conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the Gauls; extolled, with just praises, the bravery which his forces had shown hitherto; and exhorted them to sustain, to the last, their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, all at once raised their hands, and declared their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead the way. Accordingly, he appointed the next day for his march; and, after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them; desiring, at the same time, that they would take the necessary refreshments.

Whilst this was doing the Numidians returned. They had met with, and charged, the Roman detachment: the conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of the combatants. A hundred and sixty of the Romans were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of the enemies. But the honour of this skirmish fell to the Romans, the Numidians having retired and left them the field of battle. This first action was interpreted as an omen\* of the fate of the whole war, and seemed to promise success to the Romans, but which, at the same time, would be dearly bought, and strongly contested. On both sides, those who had survived this engagement, and who had been engaged in reconnoitring, returned to inform their respective generals of what they had discovered.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and crossed through the midst of Gaul, advancing northward; not that this was the shortest way to the Alps, but only, as by leading him from the sea it prevented his meeting Scipio; and, by that means, favoured the design he had of marching all his forces into Italy, without having weakened them by a battle.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone, till three days after he had set out from it. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and re embarked, fully resolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless,

\* 'Hoc principium simulque omen belli, ut summa rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.'—Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.





*Hannibal' crossing the Alps.*

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he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greatest part of his army, to make head against Asdrubal; and himself set forward immediately for Genoa, with intention to oppose the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days march, arrived at a kind of island, formed by the conflux\* of two rivers, which unite their streams in this place. Here he was chosen umpire between two brothers, who disputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furnished his whole army with provisions, clothes, and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, by which name the people were called, who now inhabit the district of Geneva, Vienne,† and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durance, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any opposition.

## THE PASSAGE OF THE ALPS.

The sight of these mountains,‡ whose tops seemed to touch the skies, and were covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few pitiful cottages, scattered here and there, on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almost perished with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fierce aspect; this spectacle, I say, renewed the terror which the distant prospect had raised, and chilled with fear the hearts of the soldiers. When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had seized upon the highest cliffs, and were prepared to oppose their passage. They therefore were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, says Polybius, only lain in ambuscade, and after having suffered Hannibal's troops to entangle themselves in some difficult passage, had then charged them on a sudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably lost. Hannibal, being informed that they kept those posts only in the day-time, and quitted them in the evening, possessed himself of them by night. The Gauls returning early in the morning, were very much surprised to find their posts in the enemy's hand: but still they were not disheartened. Being used to climb up those rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians, who were upon their march, and harassed them on all sides. The latter were obliged, at one and the same time, to engage with the enemy, and struggle with the ruggedness of the path of the mountains, where they could hardly stand. But the greatest disorder was caused by the horses and beasts of burden laden with the baggage; who being frightened by the cries and howling of the Gauls, echoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being sometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the soldiers and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices which skirted the road. Han-

\* The text of Polybius, as it has been transmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this island at the meeting of the Saone and the Rhone, that is, in that part where the city of Lyons stands. But this is a manifest error. It was *Σκάπας* in the Greek, instead of which *ὁ Ἀραπος* has been substituted. J. Gronovius says, that he had read, in a manuscript of Livy, *Bisarrar*, which shows that we are to read *Isara Rhodanusque amnes*, instead of *Arar Rhodanusque*; and, that the island in question is formed by the conflux of the Isere and the Rhone. The situation of the Allobroges, here spoken of, proves this evidently.

† In Dauphine. ‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 203—208. Liv. l. xxi. n. 32—37.

nibal, being sensible that the loss of his baggage alone was enough to destroy his army, ran to the assistance of his troops, who were thus embarrassed; and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without molestation or danger, and came to a castle, which was the most important fortress in the whole country. He possessed himself of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn, and cattle sufficient to subsist his army three days.

After a pretty quiet march, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls, feigning to take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had suffered for opposing the passage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their respects to that general, brought him provisions, offered to be his guides; and left him hostages, as pledges of their fidelity. However, Hannibal placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horses marched in the front, whilst himself followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all. They came at length to a very narrow and rugged pass, which was commanded by an eminence where the Gauls had placed an ambuscade. These rushing out on a sudden, assailed the Carthaginians on every side, rolling down stones upon them of a prodigious size. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himself in an extraordinary manner to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At last, on the ninth day, they reached the summit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days to rest and refresh themselves after their fatigue, after which they continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow had lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which caused a consternation among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceived it, and halting on a hill from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the fruitful plains\* watered by the river Po, to which they were almost come; adding, that they had but one effort more to make, before they arrived at them. He represented to them that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them possession of the capital of the Roman empire. This speech, filled with such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity. They therefore pursued their march. But still the road was more craggy and troublesome than ever; and as they were now on a descent, the difficulty and danger increased. For the ways were narrow, steep, and slippery in most places, so that the soldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled, and beat down one another.

They were now come to a worse place than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very rugged and craggy, which having been made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thousand feet deep. Here the cavalry stopped short. Hannibal, wondering at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and saw that it really would be impossible for the troops to advance. He therefore was for making a circuitous route, but this also was found impracticable. As upon the old snow, which was grown hard by lying, there was some newly fallen that was of no great depth, the feet, at first, by their sinking

\* Of Piedmont.



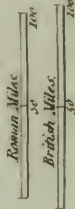
# GALLIA CISALPINA

or the

NORTHERN PART

of

## ITALY





into it, found a firm support ; but this snow being soon dissolved, by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burden, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery that they had no firm footing ; and where, if they made the least false step, or endeavoured to save themselves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Besides this difficulty, the horses striking their feet forcibly into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but was caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp and to give his troops some days rest on the summit of this hill, which was of a considerable extent ; after they should have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new fallen snow, which was a work of immense labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, and this was carried on with amazing patience and ardour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts were cut down and piled round the rock ; after which fire was set to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out, so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, if Livy may be credited (for Polybius says nothing of this matter), caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock,\* which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, taking a large compass about, in order that the descent might be easier, they cut away along the rock, which opened a free passage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beasts of burden were dying with hunger ; there being no food for them on these mountains buried under eternal snows. At last they came into cultivated and fruitful spots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horses, and all kinds of food for the soldiers.

#### HANNIBAL ENTERS ITALY.

When Hannibal entered into Italy,† his army was not near so numerous as when he left Spain, where we have seen it amounted to near sixty thousand men. It had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it still consisted of thirty-eight thousand foot and above eight thousand horse. The march over the Alps destroyed near half this number ; so that Hannibal had now remaining only twelve thousand Africans, eight thousand Spanish foot, and six thousand horse. This account he himself caused to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Lacinium. It was five months and a half since his first

\* Many reject this incident as fictitious. Pliny takes notice of a remarkable quality in vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and stones. 'Saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens,' l. xxiii. c. 1. He therefore calls it 'Succus rerum domitor,' l. xxxiii. c. 2. Dion, speaking of the siege of Eleutheræ, says, that 'the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar,' l. xxxvi. p. 8. Probably, the circumstance that seems improbable on this occasion is, the difficulty of Hannibal's procuring, in those mountains, a quantity of vinegar sufficient for this purpose. † Polyb. l. iii. p. 209 et 212—214. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39.

setting out from New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standards in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then be September.

His first care was to give his troops some rest, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of the territories of Turin\* refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their chief city; carried it in three days, and put all who opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck the barbarians with so much dread that they all came voluntarily, and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought therefore that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit; such as might inspire those who should have an inclination to join him with confidence.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made greatly alarmed Rome, and caused the utmost consternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily and hasten to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced by forced marches towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and pitched his camp near the Ticinus.†

#### BATTLE OF THE CAVALRY NEAR THE TICINUS.

The armies being now in sight,‡ the generals on each side made a speech to their soldiers before they engaged. Scipio, after having represented to his forces the glory of their country, the achievements of their ancestors, observed to them, that victory was in their hands, since they were to combat only with the Carthaginians, a people who had been so often defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for twenty years, and long accustomed to be almost their slaves: that the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horse, was a sure omen of their success during the rest of the war: that Hannibal, in his march over the Alps, had just before lost the best part of his army; and that those who survived were exhausted by hunger, cold, and fatigue: that the bare sight of the Romans was sufficient to put to flight a parcel of soldiers, who had the aspects of ghosts rather than of men: in a word, that victory was become necessary, not only to secure Italy, but to save Rome itself, whose fate the present battle would decide, as that city had no other army wherewith to oppose the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the stronger impression on the rude minds of his soldiers, speaks to their eyes, before he addresses their ears; and does not attempt to persuade them by arguments, till he has first moved them by the following spectacle. He arms some of the prisoners whom he had taken in the mountains, and obliges them to fight, two and two, in sight of his army, promising to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich presents. The alacrity wherewith these barbarians engaged upon these motives gives Hannibal an occasion of exhibiting to his soldiers a lively image of their present condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, puts them under an

\* Taurini. † A small river (now called Tesino) in Lombardy.

‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 214—218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39—47.

absolute necessity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endless evils prepared for those that should be so base and cowardly as to submit to the Romans. He displays to them the greatness of their reward, viz. the conquest of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illustrious victory, and immortal glory. He speaks contemptibly of the Roman power, the false lustre of which (he observed) ought not to dazzle such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations, into the very centre of Italy. As for his own part, he scorns to compare himself with Scipio, a general of but six months standing: himself, who was but almost born, at least brought up, in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and what is still more, conqueror of the Alps themselves. He rouses their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himself and the rest who had taken Saguntum, should be delivered up to them; and excites their jealousy against the intolerable pride of those imperious masters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

After these speeches, both sides prepare for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge across the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens\* had filled his army with consternation and dread. As for the Carthaginians, they were inspired with the boldest courage. Hannibal animates them with fresh promises; and cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prays Jupiter to dash to pieces his head in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them.

Scipio posts, in the first line, the troops armed with missive weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advances slowly. Hannibal advanced with his whole cavalry, in the centre of which he had posted the troopers who rid with bridles, and the Numidian horsemen† on the wings, in order to surround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a charge ensues. At the first onset, Scipio's light-armed soldiers had scarcely discharged their darts, when, frightened at the Carthaginian cavalry, which came pouring upon them, and fearing lest they should be trampled under the horses feet, they gave way, and retired through the intervals of the squadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides, dismounted, so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surround the enemy, and charge the rear of the light-armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and tread them under their horses feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were

\* These two ill omens were, first, a wolf had stolen into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavoured to kill it; and secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the Prætorium or general's tent. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

† The Numidians used to ride without saddle or bridle.



put into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and especially by a wound the consul received, which disabled him from continuing the combat. However, this general was rescued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years old; and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse, who covered him with their arms and bodies: the rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It is agreed, that Hannibal owed this first victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth that the main strength of his army consisted in his horse; and therefore, that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains, such as those between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. And this, as Polybius has observed, was what chiefly induced that wise and skilful general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impossibility of marching back whenever he should desire to do it; because nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him, whose assistance was the only refuge he then had left.

#### BATTLE OF THE TREBIA.

Sempronius the consul,\* upon the orders he had received from the senate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence he marched towards the Trebia, a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Placentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans from which he was separated only by that small river. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained some advantage over a party of Carthaginians; very trifling indeed, but which nevertheless very much increased the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconsiderable success seemed to him a complete victory. He boasted his having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now resolutely bent to come, as soon as possible, to a decisive battle, he thought it proper, for decency sake, to consult Scipio, whom he found of a quite different opinion from himself. Scipio represented, that in case time should be allowed for disciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much fitter for service in the ensuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves insensibly from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds should be healed, his presence might

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 220—227. Liv. l. xxi. n. 51—56.



be of some use in an affair of such general concern: in a word, he besought him earnestly not to proceed any further.

These reasons, though so just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of sixteen thousand Romans, and twenty thousand allies, exclusive of cavalry (a number which, in those ages, formed a complete army), when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the same number. He thought the juncture extremely favourable for him. He declared publicly, that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle, except his colleague, whose mind (he observed) being more affected by his wound than his body, could not, for that reason, bear to hear of an engagement. But still, continued Sempronius, is it just to let the whole army droop and languish with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul, and a new army, would come to his assistance? Such were the expressions he employed both among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness, to secure the whole honour of the victory to himself. As he had no regard, says Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal desired; as he held it for a maxim, that a general who has entered a foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, has no other refuge left, than continually to raise the expectations of his allies by some fresh exploits. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with new-levied and unexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking advantage of the ardour of the Gauls, who were extremely desirous of fighting; and of Scipio's absence, who by reason of his wound, could not be present in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with two thousand men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet which ran between the two camps, and to conceal himself among the bushes that were very thick there. An ambuscade is often safer in a smooth open country, but full of thickets as this was, than in woods, because such a spot is less apt to be suspected. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen, came directly to pass. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then six thousand light-armed troops, who were soon followed by all the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits through the rivulet, which was swoln with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the win-

ter-solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without having taken the least precaution; whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, eaten and drunk plentifully in their tents; had got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-side.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time, though they were half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold; but their cavalry was at last broken and put to flight by that of the Carthaginians, which much exceeded theirs in numbers and strength. The infantry also were soon in great disorder. The soldiers in ambuscade sallying out at a proper time, rushed on a sudden upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of above ten thousand men resolutely fought their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends nor return to the camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse, the river and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to-pieces by the elephants and horses. Those who escaped went and joined the body above mentioned. The next night Scipio retired also to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses were destroyed by the cold, the rain, and the snow; and that, of all their elephants, they saved but one only.

In Spain,\* the Romans had better success in this and the following campaign; for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus,† defeated Hanno, and took him prisoner.

Hannibal took the opportunity,‡ whilst he was in winter-quarters, to refresh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners whom he had taken from the allies of the Romans, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but of restoring the Italians to their liberty, and protecting them against the Romans, he sent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the least ransom.

The winter was no sooner over,§ than he set out towards Tuscany, whither he hastened his march for two important reasons: First, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill will of the Gauls, who were tired with the long stay of the Carthaginian army in their territories, and were impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view than to carry it into the country of their common enemy: secondly, that he might increase, by some bold exploit, the reputation of his arms in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome; and at the same time reanimate his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's lands. But in his march over the Apennines, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the wind, and hail, seemed to conspire his ruin; so that

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 60, 61.

+ Or Ebro.

‡ Polyb. p. 229. § Liv. l. xxi. n. 58.

the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in crossing the Alps seemed less dreadful than those they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who was returned from Rome. The loss on both sides was very near equal.

Whilst Hannibal was in these winter-quarters, he hit upon a true Carthaginian stratagem.\* He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant nations; the friendship he had contracted with them was but of recent date. He had reason to apprehend a change in their disposition, and, consequently, that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself, therefore, he got perukes made, and clothes suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another, and disguised himself so often, that not merely such as saw him only transiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could scarce know him.

At Rome,† Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed consuls. [A. M. 3788. A. Rom. 532] Hannibal having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuscany, resolved to go and engage him as soon as possible. Two ways being shewn him, he chose the shortest, though the most troublesome, nay, almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights they marched half way up the leg in water, and, consequently, could not get a moment's sleep. Hannibal himself, who rode upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of sleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that marshy place, together with the unhealthiness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

#### BATTLE OF THRASYMENUS.

Hannibal being thus got,‡ almost unexpectedly out of this dangerous situation, and having refreshed his troops, marched and pitched his camp between Arretium and Fesulæ, in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany. His first endeavours were, to discover the disposition of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his weak side, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief study of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was greatly conceited of his own merit, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into these excesses, to which he was naturally prone,§ he inflamed his impetuous spirit, by laying waste and burning the whole country in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, even if Hannibal had laid still. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste before his eyes, he thought it would reflect dishonour upon him, should he suffer Hannibal to ransack Italy without control, and even advance to the very walls of Rome without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 229. Liv. l. xxii. n. 1. Appian. in Bell. Annib. p. 316.

† Polyb. p. 230. 231. Liv. l. xxii. n. 2.

‡ Polyb. l. iii. p. 231—238. Liv. l. xxii. n. 3—8.

§ Apparebat ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. Quoque prior esset in sua vitia, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat. Liv. l. xxii. n. 3.

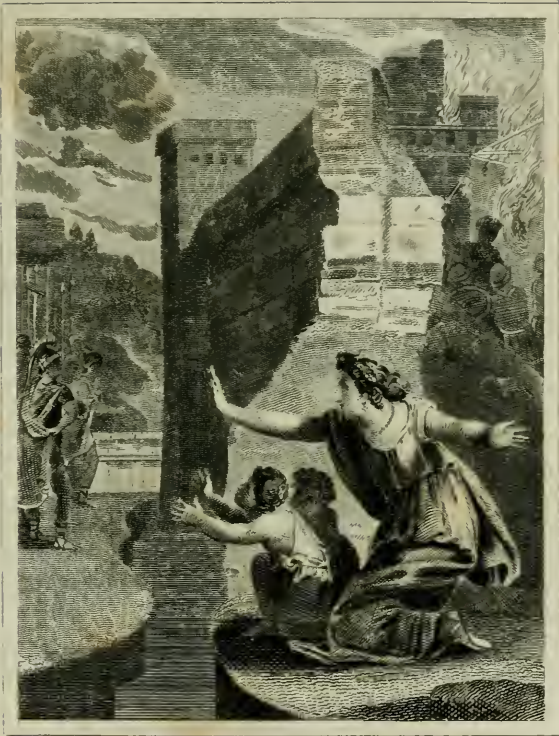
to wait the arrival of his colleague, and to be satisfied for the present, with putting a stop to the devastation of the enemy.

In the meantime, Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thrasymenus on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with design to give him battle, in order to stop him in his march; having observed that the ground was convenient for an engagement, he thought only of making preparations for it. The lake Thrasymenus and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides with hills of a considerable height, and closed, at the outlet, by a steep hill of difficult access. On this hill, Hannibal, after having crossed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army, posting his light-armed infantry in ambuscade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Accordingly, this general, who followed him very eagerly, with the resolution to fight him, being come to the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, because night was coming on; but he entered it the next morning at day-break.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance, with all his forces, above half way through the valley, and seeing the Roman vanguard pretty near him, gave the signal for the battle, and commanded his troops to come out of their ambuscade, in order that he might attack the enemy at the same time from all quarters. The reader may guess at the consternation with which the Romans were seized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked in front, in rear, and in flank. In a moment, all the ranks were put into disorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in so universal a consternation, animates his soldiers both with his hand and voice, and exhorts them to cut themselves a passage with their swords through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a fog that was risen, prevented his being seen or heard. However, when the Romans saw themselves surrounded on all sides, either by the enemy or the lake, the impossibility of saving their lives by flight roused their courage, and both parties began the fight with astonishing animosity. Their fury was so great, that not a soldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confusion, Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at last fairly fled. Great numbers, endeavouring to save themselves, leaped into the lake; while others, directing their course towards the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they strove to avoid. Six thousand only cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of safety; but the next day they were taken prisoners. In this battle fifteen thousand Romans were killed, and about ten thousand escaped to Rome by different roads. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the least ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He





*Heroic conductor of the Wife of Saurab.*

*London: Published by Cowie & Strange 24, Fetter Lane.*



afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but fifteen hundred men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal dispatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his good success hitherto in Italy. This caused the greatest joy for the present, gave birth to the most promising hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with incredible ardour, to send into Italy and Spain all necessary succours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the prætor had pronounced from the rostra the following words : ‘ We have lost a great battle.’ The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that in so great a calamity and so imminent a danger, recourse must be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed his general of horse. We are now in the second year of the war.

#### HANNIBAL’S CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO FABIUS.

Hannibal, after the battle of Thrasymenus,\* not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented himself, in the mean time, with laying waste the country. He crossed Umbria and Picenum; and after ten days march, arrived in the territory of Adria.† He got a very considerable booty in this march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms, should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle any where, he advanced as far as Apulia; plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans; and to shew all Italy, that Rome itself, now quite dispirited, yielded him the victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step till he had first reconnoitred every place; nor hazard a battle till he should be sure of success.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing almost to the very entrenchments of their camp. But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming, in appearance, the cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at last lost that valour so natural to their ancestors; but fretted inwardly, to find he had to do with a general of so different a disposition from Sempronius and Flaminius: and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived that the dictator would not be formid-

\* Polyb. l. iii p. 239—255. Liv. l. xxii. n. 9—30. † A small town, which gave its name to the Adriatic sea.

able to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarrass him very much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know, was, whether the new general had firmness enough to pursue steadily the plan he seemed to have laid down. He endeavoured, therefore, to shake his resolution by the different movements which he made, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raise his camp with the utmost precipitation; and, at another, stop short in some valley out of the common route, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. However, Fabius still kept his troops on the hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at such a distance, as might give him an opportunity of escaping him. He never suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, nor ever on those occasions without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct he revived, by insensible degrees, the courage of the soldiers, which the loss of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and good fortune.

Hannibal, having got an immense booty in Campania, where he had resided a considerable time, left that country, in order that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter quarters among marshes, rocks, and sands; while the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to settle elsewhere.

Fabius naturally supposed, that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into Casilinum, and thereby securing that small town, situated on the Volturnus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua: he afterwards detached four thousand men, to seize the only pass through which Hannibal could come out; and then according to his usual custom, posted himself with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining to the road.

The Carthaginians arrive, and encamp in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now the crafty Carthaginian falls into the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymentus; and it seemed impossible for him ever to extricate himself out of this difficulty, there being but one outlet, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself, and not without the appearance of probability, with the hopes of putting an end to the war by this single battle. Nevertheless, he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived that his own artifices were now employed against him.\* It is in such junctures as these, that a general has need of unusual

\* *Nec Annibalem fecellit suis se artibus peti.* Liv.



presence of mind and fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent, without being dismayed; and to find out sure and instant expedients without deliberating. Immediately the Carthaginian general caused two thousand oxen to be got together, and ordered small bundles of vine-branches to be tied to their horns. Towards the dead of night, having commanded the branches to be set on fire, he caused the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped. As soon as these creatures felt the flame, the pain rendering them furious, they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. This squadron, of a new kind, was sustained by a good number of light armed soldiers, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the enemy, in case they should meet them. All things happened as Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torch-light, quit their post, and run up to the mountains to oppose his passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult, and Fabius himself not daring to stir, while it was dark, for fear of a surprise, wait for the return of the day. Hannibal seizes this opportunity, marches his troops and the spoils through the defile, which was now unguarded, and rescues his army out of a snare in which, had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been destroyed, or at least very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harassed by the Romans. The dictator, being obliged to take a journey to Rome on account of some religious ceremonies, earnestly entreated his general of horse, before his departure, not to fight during his absence. However, Minucius did not regard either his advice or his entreaties; but the very first opportunity he had, whilst part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, he charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before happened at the passage of the defile, raised complaints and murmurs against the slow and timorous circumspection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this: for he had left Rome, in order that he might not be an eye-witness of what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was very sensible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his skill in the art of war was not so.\* This soon became manifest.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage he had gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this proposal, as it would have ex-

\* Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam. Liv. l. xxii. n. 26.

posed the whole army to danger whilst under the command of Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part which should fall to his share.

Hannibal fully informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was overjoyed to hear of this dissension between the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it; and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. But his troops being soon put into disorder, were just upon the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the sudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers: "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius: let us fly and snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable, and compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountain, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty storm." So important and seasonable a service done by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience, and shewed, that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than not to have committed it.

#### THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

In the beginning of this campaign,\* Cn. Scipio, having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a great quantity of rich spoils. This victory made the Romans sensible, that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw considerable supplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly, they sent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They had been satisfied with having gained the friendship of the nations situated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances: but under Publius, they crossed the Ebro, and carried their arms much further up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their affairs, was, the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelo, for so this Spaniard was called, persuaded Bostar the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. He himself was charged with the commission. But he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and, by so acceptable a present, acquired their amity.

#### THE BATTLE OF CANNE.

The next spring,† [A. M. 3789. A. Rom. 533.] C. Terentius Varro

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 245—250. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19—22.

† Polyb. l. iii. p. 255—268. Liv. l. xxii. n. 34—54.

and L. Æmilius Paulus were chosen consuls at Rome. In this campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans did what had never been practised before, that is, they composed the army of eight legions, each consisting of five thousand men, exclusive of the allies. For, as we have already observed, the Romans never raised but four legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand foot, and three hundred horse.\* They never, except on the most important occasions, made them consist of five thousand of the one, and four hundred of the other. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them to act separately; and it was very seldom that all these forces were used at the same time, and in the same expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, so important did the affair appear to them. The senate even thought fit, that the two consuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Attilius, should serve in the army as proconsuls; but the latter could not go into the field, by reason of his great age.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, as long as men such as Fabius should be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians, of whom near seventeen hundred were killed, greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. As for Hannibal, he considered this loss as a real advantage; being persuaded that it would serve as a bait to the consul's rashness, and prompt him on to battle, which he wanted extremely. It was afterwards known that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies, having often removed from place to place, came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level open country, and his cavalry much superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place. He wished to draw the enemy into a spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action. But his colleague, who was unexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconveniency of a divided command; jealousy, a disparity of tempers, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create a dissension between the two generals.

The troops on each side were, for some time, contented with slight skirmishes. But, at last, one day, when Varro had the command (for the two consuls took it by turns) preparations were made on both sides for battle. Æmilius had not been consulted; yet, though he extremely disapproved the conduct of his colleague, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he seconded him to the utmost.

\* Polybius supposes only two hundred horse in each legion: but J. Lipsius thinks that this is a mistake either of the author or transcriber.

Hannibal, after having made his soldiers observe, that, being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have pitched upon a better spot for fighting, had it been left to their choice: 'Return then, (says he) thanks to the gods for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also, for having reduced the Romans to a necessity of coming to an engagement. After three great successive victories, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By the former battles, you are become masters of the open country; but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and (I presume to say it) of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want, but action. I trust in the gods, that you shall soon see my promises verified.'

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and a little above six thousand horse; and that of the Carthaginians consisted but of forty thousand foot, all well disciplined, and of ten thousand horse. *Æmilius* commanded the right wing of the Romans, *Varro* the left, and *Servilius*, one of the consuls of the last year, was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who had the art of turning every incident to advantage,\* had posted himself, so as that the wind *Vulturnus*,\* which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river *Aufidus* on his left, and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on the left, on the same line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himself at the head of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to give battle, rounding his front as he drew nearer the enemy: and extending his flanks in the shape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their posts.

The fight soon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, seeing their centre warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave resistance, finding themselves furiously attacked on all sides, gave way, being overpowered by numbers; and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans having pursued them thither with eager confusion, the two wings of the African infantry, which were fresh, well armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder; and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without allowing them time to recover themselves, or leaving them ground to draw up. In the mean time, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated those of the Romans, which were much inferior to them; and having left in the pursuit of the broken and scattered squadrons, only as many forces as

\* A violent burning wind, blowing south-south-east, which in this flat and sandy country, raised clouds of hot dust, and blinded and choked the Romans.



were necessary to keep them from rallying, advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being surrounded at once on every side, by the enemy's horse and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Æmilius being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy to whom he was not known; and with him two quæstors; one and twenty military tribunes; many who had been either consuls or prætors; Servilius, one of the last year's consuls; Minucius, the late general of horse to Fabius; and fourscore senators. Above seventy thousand men fell in this battle;\* and the Carthaginians, so great was their fury,† did not give over the slaughter, till Hannibal, in the very heat of it, called out to them several times; 'Stop, soldiers, spare the vanquished.' Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered themselves prisoners of war after the battle. Varro, the consul, retired to Venusia, with only seventy horse; and about four thousand men escaped into the neighbouring cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He lost four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march without loss of time directly to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was a matter which required mature deliberation—'I see,' replies Maharbal, 'that the gods have not endowed the same man with all talents. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory.'‡

It is pretended that this delay saved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among the rest Livy, charge Hannibal, on this occasion, as being guilty of a capital error. But others, more reserved, are not for condemning, without evident proofs, so renowned a general, who in the rest of his conduct was never wanting, either in prudence to make choice of the best expedients, or in readiness to put his designs in execution. They, besides, are inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at least the silence, of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this celebrated battle, says, that the Carthaginians were firmly persuaded that they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault; but then he does not mention how this could possibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a garrison of two legions; nor does he any where give the least hint that such a project was feasible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we shall find that, according to the common maxims of war, it could not be undertaken. It

\* Livy lessens very much the number of the slain, making them amount but to about 43,000. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.

† Duo maximi exercitus cæsi ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi suo: Parce ferro. Flor. l. i. c. 6.

‡ Tum Maharbal: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dedere Vincere scis, Annibal, victoria uti nescis. Liv. l. xxii. n. 51.

is certain that Hannibal's whole infantry, before the battle, amounted but to forty thousand men; and as six thousand of these had been slain in the action, and, doubtless, many more wounded and disabled, there could remain but six or seven and twenty thousand foot fit for service; now this number was not sufficient to invest so large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it; nor to attack it in form, because they neither had engines, ammunition, nor any other things necessary for carrying on a siege. For want of these,\* Hannibal, even after his victory at Thrasymenus, miscarried in his attempt upon Spoletum; and soon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raise the siege of a little city,† of no note, and of no great strength. It cannot be denied but that had he miscarried on the present occasion, nothing less could have been expected but that he must have been irrecoverably lost. However, to form a just judgment of this matter, a man ought to be a soldier, and a soldier, perhaps, of those times. This is an old dispute, on which none but those who are perfectly well skilled in the art of war should pretend to give their opinion.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ,‡ Hannibal had dispatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory, and at the same time to demand succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war. Mago, on his arrival, made, in full senate, a lofty speech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans. And, to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, by speaking in some measure to the eye, he poured out, in the middle of the senate, a bushel§ of gold rings, which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, provisions, and fresh troops. All the spectators were struck with an extraordinary joy; upon which Imilcon, a great stickler for Hannibal, fancying he had now a fair opportunity to insult Hanno, the chief of the contrary faction, asked him whether he was still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno, without discovering the least emotion, replied, that he was still of the same mind; and that the victories of which they so much boasted (supposing them real), could not give joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace: he then undertook to prove that the mighty exploits, on which they insisted so much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. 'I have cut to pieces,' says he (continuing Mago's speech) 'the Roman armies: send me some troops. What more could you ask, had you been conquered? I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp, full (no doubt) of provisions of every kind. Send me provisions and money. Could you have talked otherwise had you lost your camp?' He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations had come over to

\* Liv. l. xxii. n. 9. Ibid. l. xxiii. n. 18. † Casilinum.

‡ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11—14. § Pliny, l. xxxiii. c. 1, says that there were three bushels sent to Carthage. Livy observes, that some authors make them amount to three bushels and a half; but he thinks it most probable that there was but one, l. xxxiii. n. 12. Florus, l. ii. c. 16, makes it two bushels.

Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace? To this, Mago answering in the negative: 'I then perceive,' replied Hanno, 'that we are no farther advanced than when Hannibal first landed in Italy.' The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be sent. But Hannibal's faction prevailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were considered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy; and, accordingly, orders were given for levying, without delay, the supplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise 24,000 foot and 4,000 horse in that country; but these levies were afterwards stopped and sent to another quarter; so eager were the contrary faction to oppose the designs of a general whom they utterly abhorred. While, in Rome,\* a consul, who had fled, was thanked because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; at Carthage people were almost angry with Hannibal, for being victorious. But Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, because he had undertaken it in opposition to his counsel. Thus being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future success, and to render of no avail that which had been already gained.

#### HANNIBAL TAKES UP HIS WINTER QUARTERS IN CAPUA.

The battle of Cannæ† subjected the most powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal; drew over to his interest Græcia Magna,‡ with the city of Tarentum; and thus wrested from the Romans their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. This city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a fondness for pleasure (the usual attendants on wealth), had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural inclination, were but too much inclined to voluptuousness and excess.

Hannibal§ made choice of this city for his winter quarters. Here it was that those soldiers, who had sustained the most grievous toils, and braved the most formidable dangers, were overthrown by abundance and a profusion of luxuries, into which they plunged with the greater eagerness, as they, till then, had been strangers to them. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after efforts were owing rather to the fame and splendour of their former victories than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city one would have taken them for other men, and the

\* De St. Evremond. † Liv. l. xxiii. n. 4, 18.

‡ 'Cætorem quum Græci omnem fere oram maritimam Coloniis suis, e Græcia deductis; obsiderent,' &c. 'But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, possessed themselves of almost all the maritime coast, this very country (together with Sicily) was called Græcia Magna, &c. Claver. Geograph. l. iii. c. 33.' § 'Tibi partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit; adversus omnia humana mala sæpe ac diu durantem, bonis, inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla mall' vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, et eo impensius, quo aridius ex insolentia in eas se merserant.' Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 18.



reverse of those who had so lately marched into it. Accustomed, during the winter season, to commodious lodgings, to ease and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war; not to mention that all obedience, all discipline, were entirely laid aside.

I only transcribe on this occasion from Livy. If we are to adopt his opinion on this subject, Hannibal's stay at Capua was a capital blemish in his conduct; and he pretends, that this general was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For this delay,\* says Livy, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas this last misconduct rendered him absolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy. In a word, as Marcellus observed judiciously afterwards, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their general, what Cannæ had been to the Romans.† There their martial genius, their love of discipline, were lost: there their former fame, and their almost certain hopes of future glory, vanished at once. And, indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal advanced to their decline by swift steps; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory seemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has just ground to impute all these fatal consequences to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumstances of this history, we shall scarce be able to persuade ourselves, that the little progress which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal, ought to be ascribed to his wintering at Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cause, but a very inconsiderable one; and the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal afterwards defeated the armies of consuls and prætors; the towns they took even in sight of the Romans; their maintaining their conquests so vigorously, and staying fourteen years after this in Italy, in spite of the Romans; all these circumstances may induce us to believe that Livy lays too great a stress on the delights of Capua.

The real cause of the decline of Hannibal's affairs, was owing to his want of necessary recruits and succours from Carthage. After Mago's speech,‡ the Carthaginian senate had judged it necessary, in order for the carrying on the conquests in Italy, to send thither a considerable reinforcement of Numidian horse, forty elephants, and a thousand talents; and to hire, in Spain, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to reinforce their armies in Spain and Italy. Nevertheless,§ Mago could obtain an order but for twelve thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; and even when he was just going to march to Italy with this reinforcement, so much inferior to that which had been promised him, he was countermanded and sent to Spain. So that Hannibal, after these mighty promises, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money sent him; but was left to depend upon his own personal resources. His army was now reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand

\* *Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademisisse ad vincendum.* Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

† *Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam.* Liv. l. xxiii. n. 45. ‡ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 13. § Ibid. n. 32.



horse. How could it be possible for him, with so Inconsiderable an army, to seize, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous posts; to awe his new allies; to preserve his old conquests and form new ones; and to keep the field, with advantage, against two armies of the Romans which were recruited every year? This was the true cause of the declension of Hannibal's affairs and of the ruin of those of Carthage. Was the part where Polybius treated the subject extant, we doubtless should find, that he lays a greater stress on this cause, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

## TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO SPAIN AND SARDINIA.

[A. M. 3790. A. Rom. 534.]—The two Scipios still continued in the command of Spain,\* and their arms were making a considerable progress there, when Asdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage, to march into Italy to the relief of his brother. Before he left Spain, he writ to the senate, to convince them of the absolute necessity of their sending a general in his stead, who was capable of making head against the Romans. Imilcon was therefore sent thither with an army; and Asdrubal set out upon his march with his, in order to go and join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known, than the greatest part of Spain was subjected by the Scipios. These two generals, animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent him, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed, if, being scarce able to resist Hannibal alone, they should be attacked by the two brothers, at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore pursued Asdrubal, and, coming up with that general, forced him to fight against his inclination. Asdrubal was overcome; and so far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impossible for him to continue with any safety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellions which they had fomented in that country, they lost twelve thousand men in a battle fought against the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, among whom were Asdrubal surnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago,† who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

## THE ILL SUCCESS OF HANNIBAL. THE SIEGES OF CAPUA AND ROME.

From the time of Hannibal's abode in Capua,‡ [A. M. 3791. A. Rom. 535.] the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer supported their former reputation. M. Marcellus, first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harrassed Hannibal's army on every occasion, seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the Sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been named its Buckler.

But what most affected the Carthaginian general, was to see Capua besieged by the Romans. [A. M. 3793. A. Rom. 537.] In order, therefore, to preserve his reputation among his allies, by a vigorous support

\* Liv. xxiii. n. 26—30. and 32, 40, 41.

† Not Hannibal's brother.

‡ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 41—46. l. xxv. n. 22. l. xxvi. n. 5—16.

of those who held the chief rank as such, he flew to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. At last, seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily towards Rome, [A. M. 3794. A. Rom. 538.] in order to make a powerful diversion. He was not without hope of being able, in case he could have an opportunity, in the first consternation, to storm some part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals with all their forces from the siege of Capua, to the relief of their capital; at least he flattered himself, that if, for the sake of continuing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging and defeating them. Rome was surprised, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators, to recall all the armies to succour Rome, Fabius declared, that it would be shameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their measures upon every motion of Hannibal. They therefore contented themselves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius the proconsul, from the siege. Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing to signalize themselves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompense, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no sooner returned to their respective camps, than the face of the heavens grew calm and serene. The same incident happened frequently afterwards; insomuch that Hannibal, believing that there was something supernatural in the event, said, according to Livy, that sometimes his own will, and sometimes fortune, would not suffer him to take Rome.

But the circumstance which most surprised and intimidated him, was the news, that, whilst he lay encamped at one of the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and that the ground, whereon his camp was pitched, had been sold, notwithstanding that circumstance, for its full value. So barefaced a contempt stung Hannibal to the quick; he, therefore, on the other side, put up to auction the shops of the goldsmiths round the forum. After this bravado, he retired, and, in his march, plundered the rich temple of the goddess Feronia.\*

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After that such of its senators as had the chief hand in the revolt and consequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themselves to a truly tragical death,† the city surrendered at discretion. The success of

\* Feronia was the goddess of groves, and there was one, with a temple in it, dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, speaking of the grove where the goddess was worshipped, says, that a sacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries, inspired by this goddess, walked unhurt over burning coals. There are still extant some medals of Augustus, in which this goddess is represented with a crown on her head.

† Vilius Virius, the chief of this conspiracy, after having represented to the Capuan senate, the severe treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed with twenty-seven senators to go with him to his own house, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and heating themselves with wine, they all drank poison. Then taking their

this siege, which, by the happy consequences wherewith it was attended, proved decisive, and fully restored to the Romans their superiority over the Carthaginians; displayed, at the same time, how formidable the power of the Romans was, when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends at a time when they most wanted it.

THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE TWO SCIPIOS IN SPAIN. )

[A. M. 3793. A. Rom. 537.] The face of affairs was very much changed in Spain.\* The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo; the second by Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Asdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus, and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin. They agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and thirty thousand Celtiberians, should march against Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar; whilst Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the Italian allies, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. To the two leaders whom he had to oppose, Masinissa, elate with the victories he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himself; and was to be soon followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement. The Romans being thus attacked on all sides at once made a brave resistance as long as they had their general at their head; but the moment he fell, the few troops which had escaped the slaughter secured themselves by flight. The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquished by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him, and left to the Roman generals this important instruction;† viz. never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by those of foreigners. He guessed that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, upon seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and Spain deeply felt their loss, because of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These extensive countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius,‡ a private officer of the equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Shortly after this, the younger Scipio was sent thither,

last farewell, some withdrew to their own houses, others staid with Virius; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 13, 14.

\* Liv. xxv. n. 32—39.

† *Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit, exempla que hæc vere pro documentis habenda. Ne ita externis credant auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie virium in castris habeant.* Liv. n. 33.

‡ He attacked the Carthaginians, who had divided themselves into two camps, and were secure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed thirty-seven thousand of them; took one thousand eight hundred prisoners, and brought off immense plunder. Liv. lib. xxv. n. 39.



who severely revenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of the Romans in Spain to their former flourishing condition.

#### THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ASDRUBAL.

One unforeseen defeat \* ruined all the measures, and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy. [A. M. 3798. A. Rom. 542.] The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war (for I pass over several events for brevity's sake,) were C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius. The latter had, for his province, the Cisalpine Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians, and in Lucania, that is, in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there making head against Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal very little trouble, because his brother had cleared the way for him, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this, he dispatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules † of his duty, for the welfare of his country. In consequence of this, it was his opinion, that such a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, as might be capable of striking terror into the enemy; by marching to join his colleague, in order that they might charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This design, if the several circumstances of it are thoroughly examined, should not be hastily charged with imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, were to save the state. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal should be informed of the absence of the consul. From his army, which consisted of forty-two thousand men, he drew out but seven thousand from his own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but, at the same time, a very inconsiderable part of them. The rest remained in the camp, which was advantageously situated, and strongly fortified. Now could it be supposed that Hannibal would attack, and force a strong camp defended by thirty-five thousand men?

Nero set out without giving his soldiers the least notice of his design. When he had advanced so far as that it might be communicated without any danger, he told them, that he was leading them to certain victory; that, in war, all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night, but did not pitch separate camps, the better to impose upon the enemy. The troops which were newly arrived joined those of Livius. The army of Porcius the prætor was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was

\* Polyb. lib. xi. p. 622—625. Liv. lib. xxvii. p. 35—39—51.

† No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.



of opinion, that it would be better to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves; but Nero besought him not to ruin, by delay, an enterprise to which dispatch only could give success; and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well absent as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given. Asdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered, by several circumstances, that fresh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture, that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and, at the same time, fear, that he was come too late to his assistance.

After making these reflections, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random, along the banks of the river Metaurus,\* and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did every thing which could be expected from the presence of mind and valour of a great captain. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing (the weakest part of his army) in such a manner, that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving to his main battle and right wing, a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he posted himself in the centre, and was the first to march to attack the enemy's left wing; well knowing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. Asdrubal especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a series of shining actions. He led on his soldiers, trembling and quite dispirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words, supported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces, endeavoured to bring back those who fled; till at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the most bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war: and, whether we consider the death of the general, or the slaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a reprisal for the battle of Cannæ. The Carthaginians lost fifty-five thousand men,† and six thousand were taken prisoners; the Romans lost eight thousand. These were so weary of killing that some person telling Livius, that he might very easily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: 'It is fit,' says he, 'that some should survive, in order that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.'

\* Now called Metaro.

† According to Polybius, the loss amounted but to ten thousand men, and that of the Romans to two thousand, l. xi. p. 870, edit. Gronov.

Nero set out upon his march on the very night which followed the engagement. Through every place where he passed, in his return, shouts of joy and loud acclamations welcomed him, instead of those fears and uneasinesses which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in his camp the sixth day. Asdrubal's head being thrown into the camp of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's fate. Hannibal perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of Carthage:—'All is over,' says he; 'I shall no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage. In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune.' He afterwards retired to the extremities of the country of the Brutians, where he assembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to subsist there, as no provisions were sent them from Carthage.

SCIPIO CONQUERS ALL SPAIN,—IS APPOINTED CONSUL, AND SAILS INTO AFRICA.—HANNIBAL IS RECALLED.

[A. M. 3799. A. Rom. 543.]—The fate of arms was not more propitious to the Carthaginians in Spain.\* The prudent vivacity of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flourishing state, as the courageous slowness of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Asdrubal (son of Gisco), Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of Spain, and subjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Masinissa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans, and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

Scipio, at his return to Rome, [A. M. 3800. A. Rom. 544.] was declared consul, being then thirty years of age. He had P. Licinius Crassus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission for him to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He set out with all imaginable expedition for his province; whilst his colleague was to command in the country whither Hannibal was retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, the courage, and capacity which could have been expected from the greatest generals, and the conquest of all Spain, were more than sufficient to immortalize his name: but he had considered these only as so many steps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprize: this was the conquest of Africa. Accordingly, he crossed over thither, and made it the seat of the war.

The devastation of the country, the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Asdrubal, whose camp was burnt by Scipio; and afterwards the taking Syphax himself prisoner, who was the most powerful resource the Carthaginians had left; all these things forced them at last to turn their thoughts to peace. For this purpose they deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected from that powerful body at Carthage, called the Council of the Hundred. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth (such was the custom of their country), spoke to him in terms of great submission,

\* Polyb. l. xi. p. 650 and l. xlv. p. 677—687, and l. xv. p. 689—694. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 1—4. 16. 38. 40—46. l. xxix. n. 24—36. l. xxx. n. 22—28.

accusing Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promising, in the name of the senate, an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans should please to ordain. Scipio answered, that though he was come into Africa not for peace, but conquest, he would however grant them a peace, upon condition that they should deliver up all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of all the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, twenty excepted, to the victor; should give to the Romans five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay fifteen thousand talents; that in case they were pleased with these conditions, they then, he said, might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time till Hannibal should be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time an express to Hannibal, to order his return to Africa.

He was then, as was observed before, in the extremity of Italy. Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not listen to without groans, and almost shedding tears; and was exasperated almost to madness, to see himself thus forced to quit his prey. Never banished man showed so much regret at leaving his native country as Hannibal did in going out of that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, says Livy, upon himself, for not having marched his soldiers directly to Rome,\* after the battle of Cannæ, whilst they were still reeking with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome, the senate, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies, in justification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer which they made, in its name, of adhering to the treaty of Lutatius; thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the spot, could best judge what conditions the welfare of the state required.

About the same time Octavius, the prætor, sailing from Sicily into Africa with two hundred vessels of burden, was attacked near Carthage by a furious storm, which dispersed all his fleet. The citizens, not bearing to see so rich a prey escape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied. Asdrubal, sailing out of the harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to the Carthaginian senate to complain of this, but they were little regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill-treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted, and accordingly two ships of the republic attended them. But the magistrates, who were absolutely against peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal (who was with the fleet near Utica), to attack the Roman gal-

\* Livy supposes, however, that this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himself afterwards regretted.



ley when it should arrive in the river Bragada, near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors, who nevertheless made their escape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a fresh subject for a war between the two nations, who now were more animated, or rather more exasperated, one against the other, than ever: the Romans, from a desire of taking vengeance for so black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the same time Lælius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the person of the Roman ambassadors; it might naturally be expected that they should order the Carthaginian deputies to be seized by way of reprisal. However, Scipio, more attentive to what was required by the Roman generosity, than by the perfidy of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, dismissed the deputies, without offering them the least injury. So astonishing an instance of moderation, and at such a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and even put them to the blush; and made Hannibal himself entertain a still higher idea of a general, who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed only a rectitude and greatness of soul that was still more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

In the mean time Hannibal, being strongly importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced forward into the country; and arriving at Zama, which is five days march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. He thence sent out spies to observe the position of the Romans. Scipio, having seized these, so far from punishing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might take an exact survey of it, and then sent them back to Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence so noble an assurance flowed. After the strange reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. Whilst every one was exciting him to give battle, himself only meditated a peace. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of arms might still appear uncertain. He therefore sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which accordingly was agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO, IN AFRICA,  
FOLLOWED BY A BATTLE.

[A. M. 3803. A. Rom. 547.]—These two generals,\* who were not only the most illustrious of their own age, but worthy of being ranked with the most renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, having met at the place appointed, continued for some time in a deep silence, as though they were astonished, and struck with a mutual admiration at the sight of each other. At last Hannibal spoke, and after having praised

\* Polyb. l. xv. p. 694—703. Liv. l. xxx. n. 29, 35.



Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively description of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him not to suffer himself to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. He represented to him that how successful soever he might have hitherto been, he ought however to be aware of the inconstancy of fortune ; that without going far back for examples, he himself, who was then speaking to him, was a glaring proof of this ; that Scipio was at that time what Hannibal had been at Thrasymenus and Cannæ ; that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than himself had done, by consenting to a peace, now it was in his power to propose the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans ; that they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa ; whilst they should see the Romans extending their conquests to the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio answered in few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed to them alone, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he had given him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions that had been already proposed ; to which (he observed) some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for their having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail with himself to accept these conditions, and the generals left one another, with the resolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented to his soldiers the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the confession their enemies themselves made of their weakness, by thus coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke\* with the tone and air of a conqueror. Never were motives more powerful to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals ; and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving twenty thousand men on the field of battle, and the like number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and, entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left than to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great

\* ‘Celsus hæc corpore, vultuque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat.’ Liv. l. xxx. n. 32.

eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his ability in taking advantages; his manner of drawing up his army, and giving out his orders in the engagement; and he affirmed that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although the success had not answered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, whilst himself prepared to conduct the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive-branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors, to implore his clemency. However, he dismissed them without making any answer, and bade them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council there, the majority of which were for raising Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before so strongly fortified a city could be taken; and Scipio's fear, lest a successor might be appointed him whilst he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

#### PEACE CONCLUDED.—END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The conditions of the peace\* dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were—‘That the Carthaginians should continue free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war—that they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and prisoners belonging to them; all their ships, except ten tremenes; all the elephants which they then had, and that they should not train up any more for war—that they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave for that purpose from the Roman people—should restore to Masinissa every thing of which they had dispossessed either him or his ancestors—should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome—should pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic talents† of silver in fifty annual payments; and give a hundred hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, he agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that they should restore the ships taken during the former, without which they were not to expect either a truce or peace.’

\* Polyb. l. xv. 707—707. Liv. l. xxx. n. 36—44.

† Ten thousand Attic talents make thirty millions French money. Ten thousand Euboic talents make something more than twenty-eight millions thirty-three thousand livres; because, according to Budæus, the Euboic talent is equivalent but to fifty-six minæ and something more, whereas the Attic talent is worth sixty minæ; or, otherwise, thus calculated in English money:—

According to Budæus, the Euboic talent is	56 minæ
Fifty-six minæ reduced to English money	175 <i>l.</i>
Consequently 10,000 Euboic talents make	1,750,000 <i>l.</i>
So that the Carthaginians paid annually	35,000 <i>l.</i>

This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought; the Euboic talent being something more than fifty-six minæ.

When the deputies were returned to Carthage they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisgo, that, rising up, he made a speech, in order to dissuade his citizens from accepting a peace on such shameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisgo by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city like Carthage, raised an universal murmur. Hannibal himself was vexed when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. 'As I left,' says he, 'your city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty-six years absence, I had full leisure to learn the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in them. As for your laws and customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I therefore desire you to instruct me in them.' He then expatiated on the indispensable necessity they were under of concluding a peace. He added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on these conditions. He pointed out to them the great importance of their uniting in opinion; and of not giving an opportunity; by their divisions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came over to his opinion; and accordingly the peace was accepted. The senate made Scipio satisfaction with regard to the ships reclaimed by him; and after obtaining a truce for three months, they sent ambassadors to Rome.

These Carthaginians, who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to an audience. Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal, and his faction, spoke first; and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of some particular persons, he added, that, had the Carthaginians listened to his counsels and those of Hanno, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now were obliged to sue. 'But,' continued he, 'wisdom and prosperity are very rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, because they never suffer themselves to be blinded by good fortune. And it would be surprising should they act otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new and unusual; whereas the Romans are so much accustomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the charms of victory; and it may be said to their glory, that they have extended their empire, in some measure, more by the humanity they have shown to the conquered, than by the conquest itself.' The other ambassadors spoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and represented the calamitous state to which Carthage was going to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which it was fallen.

The senate and people being equally inclined to peace, sent full power to Scipio to conclude it; left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to march back his army, after the treaty should be concluded.

The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city, to redeem some of their prisoners, and they found about two hundred whom they desired to ransom. But the senate sent them to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored without any pecuniary consideration, in case a peace should be concluded.



The Carthaginians, on the return of their ambassadors, concluded a peace with Scipio, on the terms he himself had prescribed. They then delivered up to him more than five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of Carthage; a lamentable spectacle to the inhabitants of that ill-fated city! He struck off the heads of the allies of the Latin name, and hanged all the Roman citizens who were surrendered up to him, as deserters.

When the time for the payment of the first tribute imposed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the government were exhausted by this long and expensive war; the difficulty of levying so great a sum, threw the senate into deep affliction, and many could not refrain even from tears. Hannibal on this occasion is said to have laughed; and when he was reproached by Asdrubal Hædus, for thus insulting his country in the affliction which he had brought upon it, 'Were it possible,' says Hannibal, 'for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my countenance; you would then find that this laughter which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But is this laughter more unreasonable than your unbecoming tears? Then, then, ought you to have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken from you, your ships burnt, and you were forbidden to engage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal blow which laid us prostrate.—We are sensible of the public calamity, so far only as we have a personal concern in it; and the loss of our money gives us the most pungent sorrow. Hence it was, that when our city was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, nor a sigh was heard. But now, when you are called on to contribute individually to the tax imposed upon the state, you bewail and lament as if all were lost. Alas! I only wish that the subject of this days grief does not soon appear to you the least of your misfortunes.'

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked in order to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome, through crowds of people, whom curiosity had drawn together to behold his march. The most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him, and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon this great man; an honour till then unknown, no person before him having assumed the name of a vanquished nation. Such was the conclusion of the second Punic war, after having lasted seventeen years. [A.M. 3804. A. Carth. 646. A. Rom. 548. Ant. J. C. 200.]

#### A SHORT REFLECTION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE IN THE TIME OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

I shall conclude the particulars which relate to the second Punic war, with a reflection of Polybius,\* which will show the difference between the two commonwealths of Rome and Carthage. It may be affirmed, in some measure, that at the beginning of the second Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its sprightly vigour, were already diminished. It had begun to fall

\* Lib. vi. p. 493, 494.



from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin ; whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and prime of life, and swiftly advancing to the conquest of the universe.

The reason of the declension of the one, and the rise of the other, is deduced, by Polybius, from the different form of government established in these commonwealths, at the time we are now speaking of. At Carthage, the common people had seized upon the sovereign authority with regard to public affairs, and the advice of their ancient men or magistrates was no longer listened to: all affairs were transacted by intrigue and cabal. To take no notice of the artifices which the faction adverse to Hannibal employed, during the whole time of his command, to perplex him ; the single instance of burning the Roman vessels during a truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the senate to lend their name and assistance, is a proof of Polybius's assertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the highest regard to their senate, that is, to a body composed of the greatest sages ; and their old men were listened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and especially in whatever related to the election of magistrates. A century of young men,\* who by lot were to give the first vote, which generally directed all the rest, had nominated two consuls. On the bare remonstrance of Fabius, who represented to the people that in a tempest, like that with which Rome was then struggling, the ablest pilots ought to be chosen to steer the vessel of the state, the century returned to their suffrages, and nominated other consuls. Polybius infers that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a state which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And, indeed, the Romans, under the guidance of the wise counsels of their senate, gained at last the superiority with regard to the war considered in general, though they were defeated in several particular engagements ; and established their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

#### INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WAR.

This interval, though considerable enough with regard to its duration, since it took up above fifty years, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two heads ; of which the one relates to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians. We shall treat both separately, but at no great length.

#### SECTION I.—CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF HANNIBAL.

When the second Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himself observed in the Carthaginian senate, was forty-five years of age. What we have farther to say of this great man includes the space of twenty-five years.

\* Liv. l. xxiv. p. 8 et 9.

HANNIBAL UNDERTAKES AND COMPLETES THE REFORMATION OF THE  
COURTS OF JUSTICE, AND THE TREASURY OF CARTHAGE.

After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal, at least at first, was greatly respected in Carthage, where he filled the first employments of the state, with honour and applause. He headed the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans :\* but the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneasiness, not being able to see him in arms without displeasure, made complaints on that account, and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.

On his return he was appointed prætor, which seems to have been a very considerable employment, and to have conferred great authority. Carthage is therefore going to be, with regard to him, a new theatre, as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to all its subjects in general, and a scrupulous fidelity in the management of the public finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives, and properties ; unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state ; keeps in reserve a never-failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burdened with new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an aversion for the government.

Hannibal saw with great concern the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneasy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to use his utmost endeavours to restore it ; he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, which drew after it a numberless multitude of others, without dreading either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily draw upon him.

The judges exercised the most flagrant extortion with impunity.† They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens ; without there being the least possibility of putting a stop to their injustice, because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. Livy tells us he was a questor. This officer, who was of the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had

\* Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 7.

† Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46.

already assumed all the pride and haughtiness of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly, he caused him to be seized by a lictor, and brought him before an assembly of the people. There, not satisfied with directing his resentment against this single officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges; whose insupportable and tyrannical pride was not restrained either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. And, as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleasure, and that the lowest and most inconsiderable of the people discovered, on this occasion, that they were no longer able to bear the insolent pride of these judges, who seemed to have a design upon their liberties; he proposed a law (which accordingly passed), by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it acquired him the friendship and esteem of the people, drew upon him, proportionably, the hatred of the greatest part of the *grandees* and nobility.

He attempted another reformation,\* which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The public revenues were either squandered away by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magistrates; so that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entering into a large detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate of them to be laid before him; inquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments and ordinary expenses of the state; and having discovered, by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them; he declared and promised, in a full assembly of the people, that without laying any new taxes upon private men, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans; and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the revenues, whose plunder and rapine he had publicly detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, exclaimed vehemently against these regulations, as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the sums they had plundered from the public.

#### THE RETREAT AND DEATH OF HANNIBAL.

This double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal.† His enemies were writing incessantly to the chief men, or their friends at Rome, to inform them that he was carrying on a secret intelligence with Antiochus king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately dispatched agents to Hannibal to concert with him the measures for carrying on the war he was meditating; that as some animals are so extremely fierce that it is impossible ever to tame them; in like manner this man was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit that he could not brook ease, and therefore would, sooner or later, break out again. These informations were listened to

\* Liv. l. xxiii. n. 46, 47.

† Liv. l. xxiii. n. 45—49.

at Rome: and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio strongly opposed the violent measures which the senate were going to take on their receiving this intelligence, by representing it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to persecute him even in the very heart of his country, as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But, notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissioners to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other motives were speciously pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly sensible that himself only was aimed at. The evening being come, he conveyed himself on board a ship, which he had secretly provided for that purpose; on which occasion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own. '*Sæpius patriæ quam suorum\* eventus miserratus.*' This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace. The first place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his second country, and had all the honours paid him which were due to his exalted merit [A. M. 3812. A. Rom. 556]. After staying some days here, he set out for Antioch, which the king had lately left, and from thence waited upon him at Ephesus. The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king; and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war against Rome, for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. In this city a philosopher,† who was looked upon as the greatest orator of Asia, had the imprudence to make a long harangue before Hannibal, on the duties of a general, and the rules of the art-military. The speech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal being asked his opinion of it, 'I have seen,' says he, 'many old dotards in my life, but this exceeds them all.'

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, sent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus.‡ The Romans were very much disturbed at this news; and the king might have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it.

The first advice that Hannibal gave him at this time,§ and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the seat of the war. He required an hundred ships, eleven or twelve thousand land forces, and offered to take upon himself the command of the fleet; to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war; and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy, during which the king himself should remain in Greece with his army, holding himself constantly in readiness

\* It is probable that we should read 'suos.' † Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76.

‡ They did more, for they sent two ships to pursue Hannibal and bring him back; they sold off his goods, razed his house; and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians showed to the greatest general they ever had.—Corn. Nep. in vita Hannib. c. 7.

§ Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 60.



to cross over into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king very much approved the proposal at first.

Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his friends at Carthage,\* in order to engage them the more strongly in his views. The transmitting of information by letters, is not only unsafe, but they can give only an imperfect idea of things, and are never sufficiently particular. He therefore dispatched a trusty person with ample instructions to Carthage. This man was scarce arrived in the city, but his business was suspected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed: and, at last, orders were issued for his being seized. However, he prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed, in several public places, papers, which fully declared the occasion of his journey. The senate immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

[A. M. 3813. A. Rom. 557.] Villius,† one of the deputies who had been sent into Asia, to inquire into the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Ephesus. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to show a particular esteem for him on all occasions. But his chief aim, by all this designing behaviour, was to make him be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which he succeeded but too well.‡

Some authors affirm§ that Scipio was joined in this embassy; and they even relate the conversation which that general had with Hannibal. They tell us, that the Roman having asked him, who, in his opinion, was the greatest captain that had ever lived? he answered Alexander the Great, because, with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberless armies, and carried his conquests into countries so very remote, that it seemed scarce possible for any man only to travel so far. Being afterwards asked, to whom he gave the second rank? he answered, to Pyrrhus, because this king was the first who understood the art of pitching a camp to advantage; no commander ever made a more judicious choice of his posts, was better skilled in drawing up his forces, or was more dexterous in winning the affection of foreign soldiers; insomuch, that even the people of Italy were more desirous to have him for their governor, though a foreigner, than the Romans themselves, who had so long been settled in their country. Scipio proceeding, asked him next, whom he looked upon as the third? on which Hannibal made no scruple to assign that rank to himself. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing: ‘But what would you have said,’ continued Scipio, ‘had you conquered me?’ ‘I would,’ replied Hannibal, ‘have ranked myself above Alexander,

\* Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 61. † Liv. xxx. n. 14. Polyb. iii. p. 166, 167.

‡ Polybius represents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated design, in order to render him suspected to Antiochus, because of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair succeeded as if it had been designed; but at the same time, he gives, for a very obvious reason, another turn to this conversation, and says, that no more was intended by it, than to sound Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans.

§ Liv. xxxv n. 14. Plutarch. in vita Flamin. &c.

Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced.' Scipio was not insensible of so refined and delicate a flattery, which he no ways expected; and which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him.

The answer, as told by Plutarch,\* is less witty, and not so probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and himself the third.

Hannibal,† sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him, ever since his conferences with Villius or Scipio, took no notice of it for some time, and seemed insensible of it. But at last he thought it advisable to come to an explanation with the king, and to open his mind freely to him. 'The hatred (says he) which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It is this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It is that, which even in times of peace, has caused me to be driven from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by the same passion, should my hopes be frustrated here, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, and will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So long as you shall continue in the resolution to take up arms against them, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you, once for all, address yourself to others for advice, and not to me.' Such a speech, which came from his heart, and expressed the greatest sincerity, struck the king, and seemed to remove all his suspicions; so that he now resolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet.

But what havoc is not flattery capable of making in courts and in the minds of princes!‡ Antiochus was told, 'that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, an exile, a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might suggest to him, in one day, a thousand different projects: that besides, this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another; that none but the king ought to be the general and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself alone the eyes and attention of all men; whereas, should Hannibal be employed, he (a foreigner) would have the glory of all the successes ascribed to him.' 'No minds,' says Livy, on this occasion, 'are more susceptible of envy, than those whose merit is below their birth and dignity; such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others, for this reason alone, because they are strange and foreign to themselves.' This observation was fully verified on this occasion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak side; a low and sordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristic of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now slighted and laid aside: however, he was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill success this prince met with; and showed how

\* Plutarch. in *Pyrrho*, p. 687.

+ Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 19.

‡ Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 42, 43.

unfortunate that king is whose soul is accessible to envy, and his ears open to the poisonous insinuation of flatterers.

In a council held some time after,\* to which Hannibal, for form's sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be engaged to form an alliance with Antiochus, which was not so difficult as might be imagined. 'With regard,' says Hannibal, 'to the operations of the war, I adhere immoveably to my first opinion; and had my counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame; and Hannibal (a name that strikes terror into the Romans) in Italy. Though I should not be very well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill success I have met with must necessarily have taught me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the Romans. I have nothing now in my power, but to give you my counsel, and offer you my service. May the gods give success to all your undertakings!' Hannibal's speech was received with applause, but not one of his counsels was put in execution.

Antiochus,† imposed upon and lulled asleep by his flatterers, remained quiet at Ephesus, after the Romans had driven him out of Greece; not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was for ever assuring him, that the war would soon be removed into Asia, and that he would soon see the enemy at his gates: that he must resolve, either to abdicate his throne, or oppose vigorously a people who grasped at the empire of the world. This discourse awakened, in some little measure, the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to make some weak efforts. But, as his conduct was unsteady, after sustaining a great many considerable losses, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace; one of the articles of which was, that he should deliver up Hannibal to the Romans. However, the latter did not give him opportunity to put it in execution, but retired to the island of Crete, to consider there what course it would be best for him to take.

The riches he had brought along with him,‡ of which the people of the island got some notice, had like to have proved his ruin. Hannibal was never wanting in stratagems, and he had occasion to employ them now, to save both himself and his treasure. He filled several vessels with molten lead, the tops of which he just covered over with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of Diana, in presence of several Cretans, to whose honesty, he said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then posted round the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass,§ which he always carried along with him. [A. M. 3820. A. Rom. 564] And then,|| embracing a favourable opportunity to make his escape, he fled to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia.

\* Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 7.      † Ib. l. xxxvi. n. 41.      ‡ Cornel. Nep. in Annib. c. 9 et 10. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

§ These statues were thrown out by him, in a place of public resort, as things of little value. Corn. Nep.

|| Cornel. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.



It appears from history that he made some stay in the court of this prince, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of Prusias gained several victories both by land and sea.

He employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind in a sea-fight.\* As the enemy's fleet consisted of more ships than his, he had recourse to artifice. He put into earthen vessels all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim was to destroy Eumenes; and for that purpose it was necessary for him to find out which ship he was on board of. This Hannibal discovered by sending out a boat, upon pretence of conveying a letter to him. Having gained his point thus far, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to direct their attack principally against Eumenes's ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not out-sailed his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them. But when they saw themselves surrounded with the serpents, which darted out of these vessels, when they flew to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

[A. M. 3822. A. Rom. 566.]—Services of so important a nature† seemed to secure for Hannibal an undisturbed asylum at that prince's court. However, the Romans would not suffer him to be easy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Prusias, to complain of the protection he gave Hannibal. The latter easily guessed the motive of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At first he attempted to secure himself by flight, but perceiving that the seven secret outlets, which he contrived in his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by perfidiously betraying his guest, was desirous of making his court to the Romans, he ordered the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion, to be brought to him; and, taking it in his hand, 'Let us,' said he, 'free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have so long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains over a man disarmed and betrayed, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus to desire he would beware of a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to spirit up Prusias, impiously to murder one who is not only his friend, but his guest.' After calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison,‡ and died at seventy years of age.

\* Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Corn. Nep. in vit. Annib. † Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51.

‡ Plutarch, according to his custom, assigns him three different deaths. Some, says he, relate, that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his servant to fix his knees against his buttocks, and not to leave twisting till he had strangled him. Others say that, in imitation of Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal



This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopœmen, and Scipio, who had this in common, that they all died out of their native countries, by a death little correspondent to the glory of their actions. The two first died by poison; Hannibal being betrayed by his host; and Philopœmen being taken prisoner in a battle against the Messenians, and thrown into a dungeon, was forced to swallow poison. As to Scipio, he banished himself, to avoid an unjust prosecution, which was carrying on against him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obscurity.

#### THE CHARACTER AND EULOGIUM OF HANNIBAL.

This would be the proper place for representing the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected so much glory on Carthage. But as I have attempted to draw his character elsewhere, and to give a just idea of him, by making a comparison between him and Scipio, I think myself dispensed from giving his eulogium at large in this place.

Persons who devote themselves to the profession of arms, cannot spend too much time in the study of this great man, who is looked upon, by the best judges, as the most complete general, in almost every respect, that ever the world produced.

During the whole seventeen years that the war lasted, two errors only are objected to him: first, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, his victorious army to Rome, in order to besiege that city: secondly, his suffering their courage to be softened and enervated during their winter quarters in Capua: errors which only show that great men are not so in all things; ‘*summi enim sunt, homines tamen*’;\* and which, perhaps, may be partly excused.

But then, for these two errors, what a multitude of shining qualities appears in Hannibal! How extensive were his views and designs, even in his most tender years! What greatness of soul! What intrepidity! What presence of mind must he have possessed to be able, even in the fire and heat of action, to turn every thing to advantage! With what surprising address must he have managed the minds of men, that, amidst so great a variety of nations which composed his army, who often were in want both of money and provisions, his camp was not once disturbed with any insurrection, either against himself or any of his generals! With what equity, what moderation, must he have behaved towards his new allies, to have prevailed so far as to attach them inviolably to his service, though he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their several countries! In short, how fruitful must he have been in expedients to be able to carry on, for so many years, a war in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful faction at home, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions! It may be affirmed that Hannibal, during the whole series of this war, seemed the only prop of the state, and the soul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who

drank a poison which he always carried about him: and, taking the cup into his hands, cried, ‘*Let us free,*’ &c. In vita Flaminini. \* Quintil.

could never believe themselves conquered till Hannibal confessed that he himself was so.

But our acquaintance with Hannibal will be very imperfect, if we consider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from history concerning the secret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedon; the wise counsels he gave to Antiochus, king of Syria; the double reformation he introduced in Carthage; with regard to the management of the public revenues and the administration of justice, prove that he was a great statesman in every respect. So superior and universal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government; and so great were his natural abilities, that he was capable of acquitting himself in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field; equally able to fill the civil as the military employments. In a word, he united in his own person the different talents and merits of all professions, the sword, the gown, and the finances.

He had some learning; and though he was so much employed in military labours, and engaged in so many wars, he, however, found some leisure to devote to literature. Several smart repartees of Hannibal, which have been transmitted to us, show that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, and in such a republic as Carthage. He spoke Greek tolerably well, and even wrote some books in that language. His preceptor was a Lacedæmonian, named Sosilus, who, with Philenius, another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both these undertook to write the history of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was not altogether so profligate and wicked as he is represented by Livy;\* 'cruel even to inhumanity, more perfidious than a Carthaginian; regardless of truth, of probity, of the sacred ties of oaths; fearless of the gods, and utterly void of religion.' '*Inhumana crudelitas, perfida plusquam Punica; nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.*' According to Polybius,† he rejected a barbarous proposal that was made him before he entered Italy, which was, to eat human flesh, at a time when his army was in absolute want of provisions. Some years after,‡ so far from treating with barbarity, as he was advised to do, the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus, which Mago had sent him, he caused his funeral obsequies to be solemnized in presence of the whole army. We have seen him, on many occasions, evince the highest reverence for the gods; and Justin,§ who copied Trogius Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, observes, that he always showed uncommon moderation and continence with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the course of so long a war, insomuch that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country. '*Pudicitiamque eum tantam inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.*'

His disregard of wealth, at a time when he had so many opportunities to enrich himself by the plunder of the cities he stormed and the nations

\* Lib. xxi. n. 4.

† Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 33.

‡ Excerpt. e Diod. p. 282. Liv. l. xxv. n. 17.

§ Lib. xxxii. c. 4.

he subdued, shows that he knew the true and genuine use which a general ought to make of riches, viz. to gain the affection of his soldiers, and to attach his allies to his interest, by diffusing his beneficence on proper occasions, and not being sparing in his rewards; a quality very essential, and, at the same time as uncommon in a commander. The only use Hannibal made of money was to purchase success; firmly persuaded that a man who is at the head of affairs is sufficiently recompensed by the glory derived from victory.

He always led a very regular austere life; and even in times of peace, and in the midst of Carthage, when he was invested with the first dignity of the city, we are told that he never used to recline himself on a bed at meals, as was the custom in those ages, and that he drank but very little wine. So regular and uniform a life may serve as an illustrious example to our commanders, who often include, among the privileges of war and the duty of officers, the keeping of splendid tables and living luxuriously.

I do not, however, pretend altogether to exculpate Hannibal from all the errors with which he is charged. Though he possessed an assemblage of the most exalted qualities, it cannot be denied but that he had some little tincture of the vices of his country; and that it would be difficult to excuse some actions and circumstances of his life. Polybius observes\* that Hannibal was accused of avarice in Carthage, and of cruelty in Rome. He adds, on the same occasion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himself so many enemies in both cities, that they should have drawn him in disadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it should be taken for granted that all the defects with which he is charged are true; yet that they were not so much owing to his nature and disposition, as to the difficulties with which he was surrounded, in the course of so long and laborious a war; and to the complacency he was obliged to show to the general officers, whose assistance he absolutely wanted, for the execution of his various enterprises; and whom he was not always able to restrain any more than he could the soldiers who fought under them.

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## PART THE SECOND.

### SECT. II.—DISSENTIONS BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND MASINISSA, KING OF NUMIDIA.

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which enacted, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and further, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had shown towards the Romans, had added to his dominions those of Syphax. This present afterwards gave rise to disputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned over different nations. The subjects of Syphax were called Masæsulî, and their capital was Cirtha. Those of Masinissa were the

\* Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 34, et 37.

Massyli: but they are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them both. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. They always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles, whence Virgil\* calls them Numidæ infræni.

In the beginning of the second Punic war,† Syphax siding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, thought it his interest to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly sent out against Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age. Syphax, being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost thirty thousand men, escaped into Mauritania. However, the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

Masinissa,‡ after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being driven from his kingdom by an usurper; pursued warmly by Syphax; in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies; destitute of forces, money, and of every resource. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time continued inviolably attached to the Roman interest. Syphax,§ on the contrary, having married the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

The fate of these two princes again changed, but the change was now final.|| Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophonisba, whose charms and endearments he was unable to resist. To secure this princess to himself, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as her nuptial present; this being the only way that he could devise to keep his promise with his queen, and preserve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a considerable error in itself, and one that could not fail to disoblige a nation that was so jealous of its authority: but this young prince gloriously made amends for his fault, by the signal services he afterwards rendered to Scipio. We observed,¶ that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all he possessed before. This gave rise to the divisions which we are now going to relate.

A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the lesser Syrtis,\*\* was the subject of the dispute. The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful; a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis alone, which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side dispatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cause of their respective superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio

\* Æn. l. iv. ver. 41.    † Liv. l. xxvi. n. 48, 49.    ‡ Id. l. xxix. n. 29—34.  
§ Liv. l. xxix. n. 23.    || Id. l. xxx. n. 11, 12.    ¶ Id. l. xxx. n. 44.

\*\* Id. l. xxxiv. n. 62.



Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any decision, and left the business in the same uncertain state in which they had found it. Possibly they acted in this manner by order of the senate, and had received private instructions to favour Masinissa, who was then possessed of the district in question.

Ten years after,\* [A. M. 3823. A. Rom. 567.] new commissioners having been appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

After the like distance of time,† [A. M. 3833. A. Rom. 577.] the Carthaginians again brought their complaint before the senate, but with greater importunity than before. They represented, that besides the lands at first contested, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, disposed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles: their hands were bound up by that article of the last treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans: that they could no longer bear the insolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince: that they were deputed to Rome with three requests (one of which they desired might be immediately complied with), viz. either that the affair might be examined and decided by the senate; or, secondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themselves by arms; or, lastly, that, if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be given up to Masinissa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would show some moderation in their behalf, at a time that this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions, than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if they had any cause of complaint against the Carthaginians since the conclusion of the last peace, that they themselves would punish them; and not to give them up to the wild caprice of a prince by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, being pierced with grief, shedding floods of tears, they fell prostrate upon the earth; a spectacle that moved all who were present to compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa. Gulussa, his son, who was then present, being asked what he had to reply, he answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect that the circumstance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to the side of the Romans. The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to either party to whom it might be due: that Gulussa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to send immediately deputies with those of Carthage: that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved: and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans to

\* Liv. l. xl. n. 17.

† Id. l. xlii. n. 23, 24.

have the Carthaginians dispossessed, during the peace, of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents.

But all these assurances were mere words.\* It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the least justice; and that they protracted the business on purpose to give Masinissa time to establish himself in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.

A new deputation was sent† to examine the affair upon the spot [A. M. 3848. A. Rom. 582.] and Cato was one of the commissioners. On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masinissa readily complied. The Carthaginians answered, that they had fixed a rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They, therefore, could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage; and they were surprised to see it, after having been involved in such a calamity, so soon again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The deputies, on their return, did not fail to acquaint the senate with this circumstance; and declared, Rome could never be in safety so long as Carthage could subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion:—‘And I conclude that Carthage ought to be destroyed.’ This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state is a warrant sufficient for destroying a city, contrary to the faith of treaties. Scipio Nasica, on the other hand, was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth! because that the Romans having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners, and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the never-failing subverters of the most flourishing empires.

In the mean time divisions broke out in Carthage.‡ The popular faction being now become superior to that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment; and bound the people by an oath never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who dispatched Gulussa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage to solicit their recall. However, the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave occasion to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought, and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spectator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus, who was then carrying on war in Spain, and under whom Scipio then served, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement he stood upon a neighbouring hill, and was surprised to see Masinissa, then upwards of eighty years of age, mounted (agreeably to the custom of his country) on a horse without a saddle, flying from

\* Polyb. p. 951.

† App. de bell. Pun. p. 37.

‡ App. p. 38.

rank to rank like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued from morning till night, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio used to say afterwards that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as at this ; having never before beheld so formidable an army engage without any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till this time, there were but two more who had had the pleasure of being spectators of such an action, viz. Jupiter, from Mount Ida, and Neptune, from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the sight of a hundred thousand men (for so many there were) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure ; or whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity so natural to mankind.

The Carthaginians, after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their contests with Masinissa.\* Accordingly, he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Emporium,† which had been the first cause of the dispute, to pay Masinissa two hundred talents of silver down, and eight hundred more at such times as should be agreed. But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, and the Carthaginians being unwilling to agree to this proposition, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants for which he had been sent.

The king,‡ immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor provisions could come to them. During this interval there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, in case the king should be defeated ; otherwise, to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the strongest assurances of the continuation of their friendship ; and they complied with the latter injunction. In the mean time, the famine daily increased in the enemy's camp ; and to add to their calamity, it was followed by a plague, which made dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him five thousand talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oaths to the contrary. They all submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke,§ and were dismissed, with only one suit of clothes for each. Gulussa, to satiate his vengeance for the ill treatment which, as we before observed, he had met with, sent out against them a

\* App. de bell. Pun. 40. + Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polybius, l. i. says, that the revenue that arose from this place was so considerable that all their hopes were almost founded on it, ἐν αἷς (viz. their revenues from Emporia) εἶλον τὰς μεγίστας ἐλπίδας. To this was owing their care and state-jealousy above-mentioned, lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

‡ App. de bell. Pun. 40. § Ils furent tous passés sous le joug : Sub jugam missi ; a kind of gallows (made by two forked sticks, standing upright) was erected, and a spear laid across, under which vanquished enemies were obliged to pass.—Festus.

body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakness, they could neither escape nor resist. So that of fifty-eight thousand men very few returned to Carthage.

#### THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

[A. M. 3855. A. Carth. 697. A. Rom. 599. Ant. J. C. 149.]—The third Punic war, which was less considerable than either of the two former, with regard to the number and greatness of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was still more remarkable with respect to the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.

The inhabitants of this city,\* from their last defeat, knew what they had to fear from the Romans, who had uniformly displayed great ill-will towards them, as often as they had addressed them upon their disputes with Masinissa. To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Cartholo, commander of the auxiliary forces,† as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war against the king of Numidia. They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection; and being seized with the strongest terrors, from the recollection of their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themselves all the dismal consequences of a long siege, and of a city taken sword in hand.

In the mean time‡ the senate debated at Rome on the measures it would be proper for them to take; and the disputes between Cato the elder and Scipio Nasica, who entertained total different opinions on this subject were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared, in the strongest terms, that he had found Carthage, not as the Romans supposed it to be, exhausted of men or money, or in a weak and humble state; but, on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and silver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike stores; and was so haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is further said, that after he had ended his speech, he threw, out of the lap of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs; and, as the senators admired their beauty and size, ‘Know,’ says he, ‘that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us.’§

Cato and Nasica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did.|| Nasica, observing that the people had risen to such a height of insolence, as led them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which the senate itself was not able to check; and

\* Appian. p. 41, 42.

† The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their respective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian *Βοήθαρχος*.

‡ Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 352. § Plin. l. xv. c. 18. || Plut. ib. in vita Cat.



that their power was become so enormous that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad design they might undertake; Nasica, I say, observing this, was desirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might serve as a curb to restrain and check their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans; and at the same time too strong to be considered by them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought that as his countrymen were become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into profligacy of every kind, nothing could be more dangerous than for them to have for a rival and an enemy a city, that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and not to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interests of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage: \* that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared barefaced, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, upon all orders of the republic: that the senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions, abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without moderation or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. 'The first Scipio,† says Paternulus, speaking of the Romans, 'had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of corruption.'

Be this as it may, the senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians;‡ and the reasons or pretences urged for it were, their having maintained ships contrary to the tenor of the treaty; their having sent an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they had treated ill, at the time that he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

An event,§ that chance occasioned to happen very fortunately, [A. M. 3856. A. Rom. 600.] at the time that the senate of Rome was debating

\* *Ubi Carthago, et æmula imperii Romani ab stirpe interiit, Fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit.*—Sallust. in bell. Catilin. Ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Remp. tractabant. Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, illicet ea, que secundæ res amant, lascivia superbia incessere.—Idem in bello Jugurthino.

† *Potentia Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior spernit.* Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vitia transeursum. Vel. Patern. l. ii. c. i.

‡ App. p. 42.

§ Ibid.

on the affair of Carthage, doubtless contributed very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had a port equally spacious and commodious; it stood within sixty furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but formally proclaimed war. M. Manilius, and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand foot and about four thousand horse.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome.\* The answer brought back by their deputies had only increased their fears, viz. 'It was the business of the Carthaginians to consider what satisfaction was due to them.'† This made them not know what course to take. At last they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them stoop to), to declare that the Carthaginians gave themselves up, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, '*se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*,' was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the power of the Romans, and acknowledging themselves their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; because, as the Uticans had been beforehand with them on that occasion, this circumstance had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was set out. The Romans had dispatched a courier to Carthage with the decree of the senate, and to inform that city that the Roman fleet had sailed. The deputies had, therefore, no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that, within the space of thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybæum, three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety: but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explanation: nor, indeed, would it have been to any purpose. They, therefore, set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians;‡ but the silence of the Romans, with respect to the

\* Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972. † To the Romans.

‡ Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

cities of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses which the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Masinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days, which had been allowed them, were expired, but immediately sent their hostages, in hopes of softening the enemy by the readiness of their obedience, though they dared not flatter themselves with the expectation of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was any spectacle more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing seen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the disconsolate mothers, bathed in tears, tore their dishevelled hair, beat their breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted them, they yelled in such a manner as might have moved the most savage breasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their separation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ship, they bid them a long last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more; bathed them with their tears; embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breasts. The hostages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the consuls told the deputies that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

In such a situation of affairs,\* nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, gives occasion to the mind to image to itself every misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; signifying, that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive their commands, which they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the sad condition to which he was reducing them, at a time when Asdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almost to their gates, with an army of twenty thousand men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would set that matter right.

This order was immediately put in execution.† There arrived in the camp a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage: two hundred thousand complete sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with two thousand engines for shooting darts and stones.‡ Then followed the deputies of Carthage,

\* Polyb. p. 975. Appian. p. 45—46.

† Appian. p. 46.

‡ Balistæ, or catapultæ.

accompanied by the most venerable senators and priests, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreversible. Censorinus, the consul, for it was he who had all along spoken, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them; but suddenly assuming a grave and severe countenance:—‘I cannot,’ says he, ‘but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions which you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eighty stadia\* from the sea.’

The instant the consul had pronounced this fulminating decree,† nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderstruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise than by broken sighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice towards a people, who would soon be reduced to the extremes of despair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were such beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far as to get the execution of this order suspended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to attempt, if possible, to get it revoked. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.

The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express.‡ It was scarce possible for them to break through the crowd that flocked round them to hear the answer which was but too strongly painted in their face. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their fate; and, from that instant nothing was seen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is a great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should end exactly in the most interesting part of this narrative. I should set a much higher value on one short reflection of so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and the consul. I can never believe that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the present occasion. We do not here discover, in my

\* Four leagues, or twelve miles. † Appian. p. 46—53. ‡ Ib. p. 53, 54.



opinion, any of the characteristics which distinguished them anciently ; that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman disposition ; ‘ *Minime Romanis artibus.*’ Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force ? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty (a most solemn and sacred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws ; and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both ? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word ‘city’ in this treaty, the perfidious design of destroying Carthage ? as if, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice ? In short, why did the Romans not make their last declaration till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms ; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands ? Is it not manifest that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terror to the Romans, and that they were persuaded they were not able to conquer it by force of arms ? It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power as to be able to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans\* differs widely from what was practised here. ‘That people,’ says he, ‘far from using artifice and deceit towards their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies, considering only those victories as solid and glorious which were obtained sword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery.’ He owns, in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans but very faint traces of the ancient generosity of their ancestors ; and he thinks it incumbent on him (as he declares) to make this remark, in opposition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time among persons in the administration of the government, who imagined that sincerity is inconsistent with good policy ; and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on some occasions.

I now return to my subject.† The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage, not suspecting they had any thing to fear from that city, as it was now disarmed. The inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay to put themselves in a posture of defence, being all unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general, without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thousand men, and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country’s sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves to the making arms with incredible expedition.

\* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 671, 672. † Appian. p. 55. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 833.

The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made a hundred and forty shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes or javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them; and, because they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.

Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans,\* because, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their design, which circumstance caused some coldness between them.

During this interval† the consuls were advancing towards the city in order to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the besieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, served them as tribune in the army, and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence than by his bravery. The consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights, by having refused to follow his advice. This young officer extricated the troops from several dangers, into which the imprudence of their leaders had plunged them. A renowned officer, Phamæas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually harassed the foragers, did not dare ever to keep the field, when it was Scipio's turn to support them; so capable was he of keeping his troops in good order, and posting himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation excited some envy against him at first; but as he behaved, in all respects, with the utmost modesty and reserve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; so that when the senate sent deputies to the camp, to inquire into the state of the siege, the whole army gave him unanimously the highest commendation; the soldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, with one voice extolled the merit of young Scipio: so necessary is it for a man to deaden, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendour of his rising glory, by a sweet and modest carriage; and not to excite jealousy, by haughty and self-sufficient behaviour, as this naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itself odious.

[A. M. 3857. A. M. 610.]—About the same time‡ Masinissa, finding his end approach, sent to desire a visit from Scipio, in order that he might invest him with full powers to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and property, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no farther account here of the family and posterity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.

The high esteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio§ induced

\* Appian, p. 55. † Ib. p. 55—63. ‡ Ib. p. 63. § Ib. p. 65.

him to forsake the Carthaginians and go over to the Romans. Accordingly, he joined them with above two thousand horse, and was afterwards of great service at the siege.

Calpurnius Piso,\* the consul, and L. Mancinus, his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased; they daily got new allies; and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philip,† who pretended to be the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.

This news occasioned some uneasiness at Rome.‡ The people began to doubt the success of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at first been imagined. As much as they were dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed against their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome in order to stand candidate for the edileship. The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the second; these several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people, and though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the people disregarding for once the laws, conferred the consulship upon him, [A. M. 3858. A. Rom. 602.] and assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for the provinces, as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

As soon as Scipio had completed his recruits he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica.§ He came very seasonably for Mancinus, Piso's lieutenant, who had rashly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy, and would have been cut to pieces that very morning had not the new consul, who, on his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his assistance.

Scipio's first care, after his arrival, was to revive discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected.|| There was not the least regularity, subordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feasting, and diversions. He drove from the camp all useles persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for soldiers, studiously banishing all dainties and luxuries.

After he had made these regulations, which cost him but little time and pains, because he himself first set the example, he was persuaded that those under him were soldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide

\* Appian. p. 66. † Andrisus. ‡ Appian. p. 68. § Ib. p. 69. || Ib. p. 70.

themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, he led them in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city, called Megara; when, ordering them to give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at first in the utmost terror; however, they defended themselves so courageously that Scipio could not scale the walls; but perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid and resolute soldiers, who, by the help of pontons,\* got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, the gates of which they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that post; who, terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed even by those forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary for them to fly to a place of security.

Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage,† which, in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninsula was three hundred and sixty stadia, or eighteen leagues round. On the west side there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or twelve fathoms broad; which, advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, exclusive of the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, and over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. All these were contained within the walls alone. In one place only the walls were weak and low; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above-mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the west side. Of these there were two, which communicated with each other, but had only one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains: The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large quays, in which were distinct receptacles‡ for sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships; over these were magazines or store-houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars, of

\* A sort of moveable bridge.

† Appian. p. 56 and 57. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 832. ‡ *Newσoίkovς*, Strabo.



the Ionic order. So that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one from thence could see what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war; the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate, that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour; so that Carthage may be divided into three parts; \* the harbour, which was double, and called sometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name: the citadel, named Byrsa; the city properly so called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

At daybreak† Asdrubal,‡ perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the same time deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken upon the walls in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture: putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin from their body with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror; however, he did not spare even them, but murdered many senators who had ventured to oppose his tyranny.

Scipio, finding himself absolutely master of the isthmus,§ burnt the camp, which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with a large and deep intrenchment, and fenced with strong palisades. On the side which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the isthmus, that is, twenty-five stadia.|| The enemy, who were within bow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to this work; but as the whole army were employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: first, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could now be brought but by sea, which was attended with many difficulties, both because the sea is frequently very tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a strict guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which raged soon after in the city. Besides, Asdrubal distributed the corn that was brought only among the thirty thousand men who served under him, caring very little what became of the rest of the inhabitants.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions,¶ Scipio at-

\* Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

† Appian. p. 72.

‡ It was he who had first commanded without the city, but having caused the other Asdrubal, Masinissa's grandson, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls. § Appian. p. 73.

|| Four miles and three quarters.

¶ Appian. p. 74

tempted to stop up the mouth of the haven by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The besieged, at first, looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they insulted the workmen : but, at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid ; and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but so privately, that all that Scipio could learn from the prisoners, was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven ; and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had just then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must infallibly have taken it ; because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man was elsewhere employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of insult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

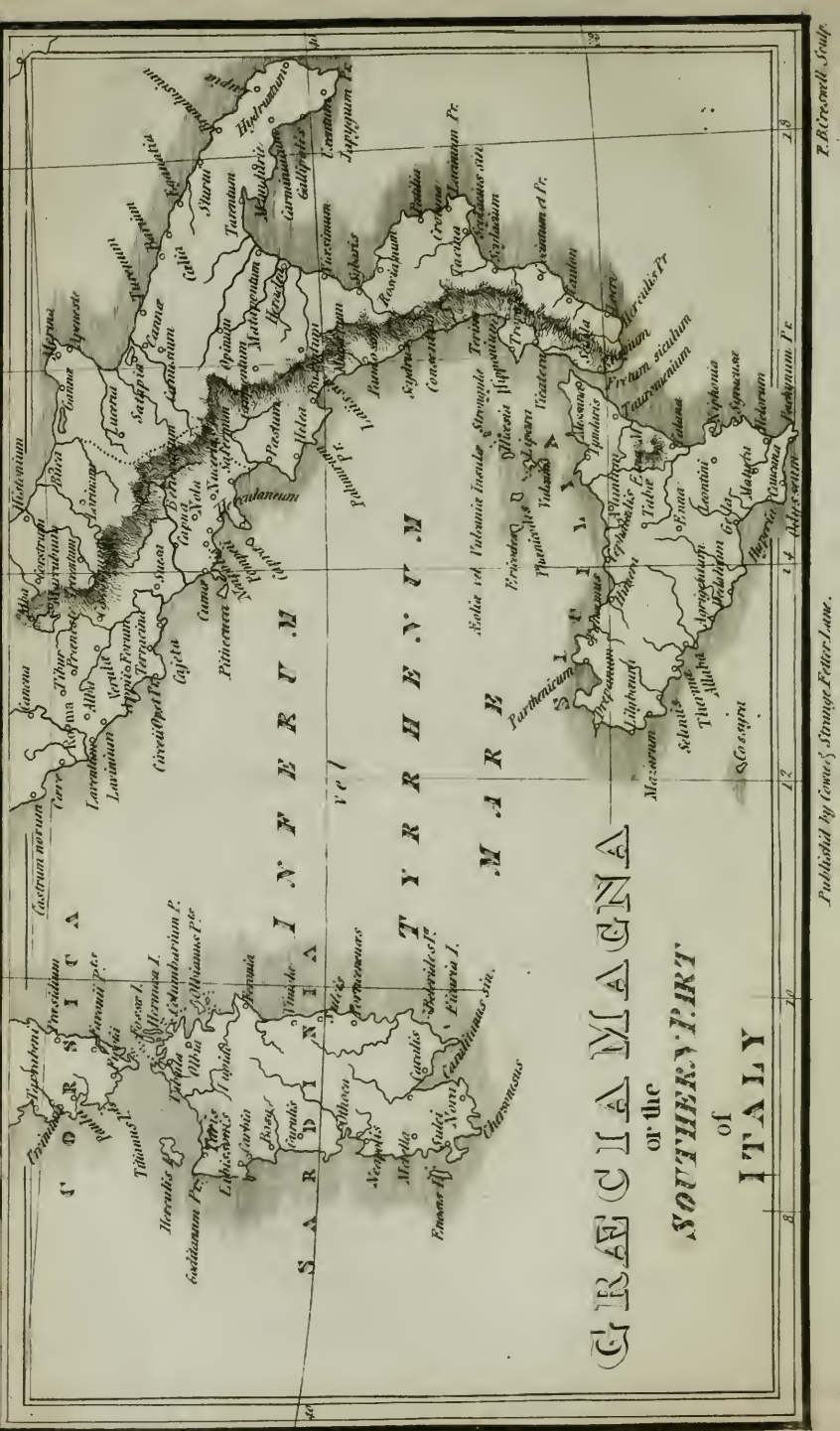
Two days after,\* they brought forward their ships, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. The conflict was long and obstinate, each exerting themselves to the utmost ; the one to save their country, now reduced to the last extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars ; and, when briskly attacked, retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sun-set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire ; not that they believed themselves overcome, but in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ships, not being able to run swiftly enough in the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered very much, and the few ships which got off, sailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty ; after which he made a lodgment there, and fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to those of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished, he commanded four thousand men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution ; because, as the two walls were of equal height, almost every dart took effect. Thus ended this campaign.

During the winter quarters,† Scipio endeavoured to overpower the

\* Appian. p. 75.

† Ibid. p. 76.







enemy's troops without the city, who very much harassed the convoys that brought his provisions, and protected such as were sent to the besieged. For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nephtheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, above seventy thousand of the enemy, as well soldiers as peasants, who had been enlisted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after sustaining a siege of two-and-twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strong holds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

Early in the spring, [A. M. 3859. A. Rom. 603.] Scipio attacked, at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel.\* Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, on each side of which were houses, from the tops whereof a shower of darts was discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houses, continued six days, during which a dreadful slaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants as had been slain, or precipitated headlong from the houses; and threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this toil, which lasted six days and as many nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by fresh ones, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio was the only person who did not take a wink of sleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and scarce allowing himself leisure to take the least refreshment.

There was every reason to believe, that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood.† But on the seventh day, there appeared a company of men in the posture and habit of suppliants, who desired no other conditions, than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel: which request was granted them, only the deserters were excepted. Accordingly, there came out fifty thousand men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Æsculapius, with Asdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, the ascent to which was by sixty steps. But at last, exhausted by hunger and watching, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; and abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, resolved not to quit it but with their lives.

\* Appian. p. 79.

† Ibid. p. 81.

In the mean time, Asdrubal, being desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst it was kindling, we are told, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself with her two children in sight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice: 'I call not down,' says she, 'curses upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!' Then directing herself to Asdrubal:—'Perfidious wretch,' says she, 'thou basest of men! this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, unworthy general of Carthage, go—adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror—suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deservest!' She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

With regard to Scipio, when he saw this famous city, which had been so flourishing for seven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions, both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; while the Carthaginians were even superior to other nations by their courage and greatness of soul; as notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege; seeing, I say, this city entirely ruined, historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage.\* He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than private men; that the like sad fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and, in later times, the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of so great an extent; and very recently, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following verses of Homer:—

Ἔσsetai ἡμαρ, ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἰλίου ἱρή,  
καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἑυμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.—*Il. δ'. 164, 165.*

'The day shall come, that great avenging day,  
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay,  
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's self shall fall,  
And one prodigious ruin swallow all.'—*Pope.*

thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio to explain himself on that occasion.

Had the truth enlightened his soul, he would have discovered what we are taught in the Scriptures, that 'because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another.†' Carthage is destroyed, because its avarice, its perfidious-

\* Appian. p. 82.

† Eccles x. 8.

ness, and cruelty. have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive show of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall.

[A. M. 3859. A. Carth. 701. A. Rom. 603. Ant. J. C. 145.] Carthage being taken in this manner,\* Scipio gave the plunder of it (the gold silver, statues, and other offerings which should be found in the temples, excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus, and Caius Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a small ship (an excellent sailer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

At the same time he invited the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars.† When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull, he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings and of the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the most severe penalties, his family not to take or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome‡ the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for sixteen years together; during which Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, destroyed in different engagements three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men emulously strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods: and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in solemn sacrifices, in public prayers, games and spectacles.

After these religious duties were ended§ the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the time to come. Their first care was to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage.|| Rome, though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being. So true it is that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, lasts even beyond the

\* Appian. p. 83.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 84.

|| We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florus says, viz. that it was seventeen days on fire before it could be all consumed.

time when all cause of fear is removed, and does not cease till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given in the name of the Romans, that it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was admitted to see Carthage: Scipio being well pleased to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire. The commissioners decreed further, that those cities which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was sent annually.

All matters being thus settled,\* Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury, which amounted to immense sums.

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt,† in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's lifetime, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony consisting of six thousand citizens for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.

It is probable that only a kind of huts were built there, since we are told that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city.

Appian relates‡ that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he writ down in his pocket-book the design which he formed on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murdered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it stood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

I know not what foundation Appian has for this story; but we read in Strabo§ that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by

\* Appian. p. 84. † Ibid. p. 85. Plut. in vit. Gracch. p. 839.

‡ Appian. p. 85. § Strab. l. xvii. p. 833.



Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before,\* he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar; and Plutarch, in the life of that Emperor,† ascribes expressly to him the establishment of these two colonies; and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed at the same time, they likewise were at the same time rebuilt and re-peopled. However this be, Strabo affirms, that in his time Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it rose to be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for about seven hundred years after, in splendour, but at last was so completely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least footsteps of it are known at this time in the country.

A DIGRESSION ON THE MANNERS AND CHARACTER OF THE SECOND  
SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, was son to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, the last King of Macedon, and, consequently, grandson to that Paulus Æmilius who lost his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the son of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being so united, pursuant to the law of adoptions. He supported, with equal lustre, the dignity of both houses, by all the qualities that can confer honour on the sword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, says an historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or words, was deserving of the highest praise. He distinguished himself particularly (an eulogium that, at present, can seldom be applied to persons of the military profession), by his exquisite taste for polite literature, and all the sciences, as well as by the uncommon regard he showed to learned men. It is universally known that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the most polite and elegant writings which the Romans could boast. We are told of Scipio, that no man could blend more happily repose and action, nor employ his leisure hours with greater delicacy and taste: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. By this he showed that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of what quality or profession soever he be, than the adorning his mind with knowledge. Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says, that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid and excellent instructions they contain, both in regard to war and policy.

He owed this exquisite taste for polite learning and the sciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children.‡ He had put them under the ablest masters in every art, and did not spare any expence on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himself was present at all their lessons, as often as the affairs of the state would permit; becoming, by this means, their chief preceptor.

\* Strab. l. xvii. p. 833.

† Page 733.

‡ Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul. p. 258.

The intimate union between Polybius and Scipio\* put the finishing stroke to the exalted qualities which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration. Polybius, with a great number of Achæans, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon caused his company to be coveted by all persons of the highest quality in that city. Scipio, when scarce eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius, and considered as the greatest felicity of his life the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so alluring to young persons.

Polybius's first care was to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquests had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the greatest improvement in it; and, despising the ridicule, as well as the pernicious examples, of persons of the same age with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence, the transition was easy and natural to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the most exalted pitch, as appears from some instances of this kind related by Polybius, which are highly worthy our admiration.

Æmelia,† wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes, the whole suited to the opulence of the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papiria his mother, who, having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity, and never appeared in the assemblies or public ceremonies. But when she again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generosity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, in consequence of the estate that had fallen to him by the death of his grandmother, to pay at three different times to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to 50,000 French crowns.‡ The time for the payment of the first sum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker.

\* Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 147—163.

† She was sister of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Scipio Africanus.

‡ Or, 11,250*l.* sterling.

Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who had married the two sisters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him and observed that the laws allowed him three years to pay this sum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigour towards strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous simplicity; and therefore desired them to receive the whole sum. They were struck with such admiration at the generosity of their kinsman, that, in their return home, they reproached\* themselves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greatest figure, and had the highest regard paid to them of any family in Rome. This generous action, says Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay 50,000 crowns before they were due, would pay even a thousand before the time for payment was elapsed.

It was from the same noble spirit that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was his (Scipio's) due (amounting to above threescore thousand crowns†), in order that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being desirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory (as was the custom in that age), and not being able to defray the expenses on this occasion, which amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of fifteen thousand crowns,‡ in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papiria, reverted to him, by law as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters whatever he had presented to their mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum; and by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

These different benefactions, which amounted altogether to a prodigious sum, seem to have received a brighter lustre from the age in which he bestowed them, he being still very young; and yet more from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he assumed on those occasions.

The incidents I have here related are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of an historian who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known that the predominant characteristic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love for truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he has thought it necessary for

\* Κατηγορούμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας. † Or, 13,500*l.* sterling.

‡ Or, 5,375*l.* sterling.



him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio ; and he observes that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he could not fail of being convicted by them, should he venture to advance any falsehood ; an affront, to which it is not probable that an author who has ever so little regard for his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed that Scipio had never given into the fashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so generally abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasure of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enabled him also to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmost of his desire his passion in this respect ; for the chase, which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aside for some years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in his favourite sport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leisure hours in an exercise which suited so well his age and inclination ; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts of Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon that he met with Polybius in Rome, and contracted the strict friendship with him, which was afterwards so beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almost as much honour in after-ages as all his conquests. We find, from history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when himself and Scipio were alone, the latter unbosomed himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he, in their conversations at table, always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him. ' I am, sensible,' says he, ' that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in Rome, because I do not devote myself to the studies of the bar, nor cultivate the graces of elocution. But how should I do this ? I am told perpetually that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the house of the Scipios. I will confess to you (pardon the sincerity with which I reveal my thoughts), that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly.' Polybius, surprised at this unexpected address, made Scipio the kindest answer, and assured the illustrious youth, that though he generally directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of disrespect to him, but only because



Fabius was the eldest ; not to mention (continued Polybius) that, knowing you possessed but one soul, I conceived that I addressed both when I spoke to either of you. He then assured Scipio that he was entirely at his command ; that with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve himself in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who resorted daily to Rome ; but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profession, and his favourite study, he (Polybius) might be of some little service to him. He had no sooner spoke these words, than Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture—‘ Oh ! when,’ says he, ‘ shall I see the happy day, when, disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be so much my friend as to direct your endeavours to improve my understanding and regulate my affections ? It is then I shall think myself worthy of my illustrious ancestors.’ From that time Polybius, overjoyed to see so young a man breathe such noble sentiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not esteem Polybius only as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him as an able warrior and a profound politician. Accordingly, he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice, even when he was at the head of his army, concerting in private with Polybius all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprises against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

In a word, it was the common report that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action without being under some obligation to Polybius ;\* nor even commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.

I request the reader to excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject, as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, viz. the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And, indeed, these examples show how important it is that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education ; and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit ; for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But, above all, how noble a model for our age (in which the most considerable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families), is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio ; who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, thought lightly of bestowing the largest sums upon them ! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs, indeed, naturally to that book, where, treating of the taste for solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held

\* Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 505.

riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I, therefore, thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I could not but blame myself for omitting elsewhere.

THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY AND POSTERITY OF MASINISSA.

I promised, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

[A. M. 3875. A. Rom. 601.]—From the time that Masinissa had declared for the Romans under the first Scipio,\* he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that Roman might be sent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will; but believing that he should be dead before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows:—‘I know no other nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios. I now, in my expiring moments, empower Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all my possessions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, shall be executed as punctually as if I myself had appointed it by my will.’ After saying these words he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.

This prince,† during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thousand times in danger of his life. Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unruffled by any sinister accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax, his enemy; and extending his dominions from Mauritania, as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed, till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which, doubtless, was owing to his extreme temperance, and the care he had taken to inure himself to fatigue. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle; and Polybius observes (a circumstance preserved by Plutarch,‡) that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen sitting at the door of his tent eating a piece of brown bread.

He left fifty-four sons,§ of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest; but the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possessor of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and with them he educated in his palace Jugurtha his nephew, Mastanabal’s son, and took

\* App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

† App. p. 65.

‡ An seni gerenda sit Resp. p. 791.

§ App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

as much care of him as he did of his own children. This last mentioned prince possessed several eminent qualities, which gained him universal esteem.\* Jugurtha, who was finely shaped and very handsome, of the most delicate wit and the most solid judgment, did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his own age, in running, riding, and throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight; but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself: ‘*Plurimum facere, et minimum ipse de se loqui.*’

Merit so conspicuous, and so generally acknowledged, began to excite some anxiety in Micipsa. He saw himself in the decline of life, and his children very young. He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going when a crown is in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by so glittering a temptation, especially when united with such favourable circumstances. In order, therefore, to remove a competitor so dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to the assistance of the Romans, who, at that time, were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the most heroic bravery, he flattered himself that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. However, he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage the utmost presence of mind; and, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of his age, he preserved a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness. In this campaign he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio sent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to the course which he ought to pursue; for, knowing mankind so well, he, in all probability, had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the high character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and resolved, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly, he adopted him; and, by his will, made him joint heir with his two sons. When he found his end approaching, he sent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in presence of the whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind of all his kindness to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect, on all occasions, his children; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipsa's) bounty. He told him that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real services and inviolable fidelity. Now where (says he) can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on, strangers? He exhorted his sons to pay the

\* All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust.



highest reverence to Jugurtha; and to dispute no otherwise with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if possible, to surpass his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment towards the Romans; and to consider them as their benefactor, their patron, and master. A few days after this, Micipsa expired.

[A. M. 3897. A. Rom. 631.]—Jugurtha soon threw off the mask, and began by ridding himself of Hiempsal, who had expressed himself to him with great freedom, and therefore he caused him to be murdered. This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal what he himself might naturally fear. [A. M. 3898. A. Rom. 632.] Numidia is now divided, and sides severally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raised by each party. Adherbal, after losing the greatest part of his fortresses, is vanquished in battle, and forced to make Rome his asylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneasiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore sent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief senators. In the first audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal represented the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstance on which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying father, viz. to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the universe. His speech was of a great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following answer: that Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians, because of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor, and yet, after having been vanquished, was come to make complaints, because he had not committed all the excesses he desired; that their sovereign entreated the senate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from that he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater stress on his actions, than on the accusations of his enemies. But these ambassadors had secretly employed an eloquence much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole assembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who were not so void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The senate came to this resolution, that commissioners should be sent from Rome to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally suppose that Jugurtha was not sparing of his treasure on this occasion: the division was made to his advantage, and yet a specious appearance of equity was preserved.

This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage and increased his boldness. Accordingly, he attacked his brother by open force; and whilst the latter loses his time in sending deputations to the Romans, he storms several fortresses, carries on his conquests; and, after defeating Adherbal, besieges him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval ambassadors arrived from Rome with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence and submission, the commands of the Roman



people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention to hinder him from defending his own life, against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with saying, that he would send ambassadors forthwith to Rome to inform the senate of his conduct. By this vague answer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait upon Adherbal.

Though the latter was so closely blocked up in his capital, he yet found means to send to Rome,\* to implore the assistance of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some senators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his influence prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embassy to be sent, composed of senators of the highest distinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great ascendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first: but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had lost all hopes, surrendered upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greatest part of the people at Rome were struck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the senate. However, C. Memmius, the tribune of the people, an active man, and one who hated the nobility, prevailed with the people, not to suffer so horrid a crime to go unpunished; and, accordingly, war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, Calpurnius Bestia the consul was appointed to carry it on. [A. M. 3894. A. Rom. 683. Ant. J. C. 110.] He was endowed with excellent qualities, but they were all depraved and rendered useless by his avarice. Scaurus set out with him. They at first took several towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and Scaurus himself, who till now had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not resist so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very inconsiderable sum of money, were delivered to the quæstor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius the tribune inflamed them by his speeches. He caused Cassius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha; and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an enquiry might be made in his presence, who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The sight of him raised the anger of the people still higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the session, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of Masinissa, called Massiva, being at that time in the city, was advised to solicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which, coming to the

\* He chose two of the nimblest of those who had followed him into Cirtha; and these, induced by the great rewards he promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring shore, and from thence to Rome.

ears of the latter, he caused him to be assassinated in the midst of Rome. The murderer was seized, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he cast back his eyes several times towards it, and said, 'Rome would sell itself, could it meet with a purchaser; and were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined.'

And now the war broke out anew. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the consul, made it go on very slowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public assemblies,\* the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Anlus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, surrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally imagine in what light so shameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was considered at Rome. They could not flatter themselves with the hope of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the consul. To all the rest of the virtues which constitute the great captain, he added a perfect disregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his sword. But the African monarch found Metellus as invincible in this, as in all other respects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, through the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly, he signalised himself in a surprising manner; and showed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and suggests new lights: he was, however, unsuccessful, because opposed by a consul, who did not suffer the most inconsiderable error to escape him, nor ever let slip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greatest concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a design upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself safe any where; but all things, by day as well as by night, the citizens as well as the foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors sat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and utter loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear; which almost drove him to frenzy.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour to lessen his general's character secretly in the minds of his soldiers; and becoming soon his professed enemy and slanderer, he at last, by the most grovelling and perfidious arts, prevailed so far as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his room, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. With what strength of mind soever Metellus might be endued on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this un-

\*For electing magistrates.—Sal.

foreseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and compelled him to utter such expressions as were altogether unworthy so great a man. There was something very dark and vile in Marius's conduct that displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus having anxiously endeavoured to avoid a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. [A. M. 3898. A. Rom. 642.] A triumph was decreed him, and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him.

I thought it would be proper to reserve for the Roman history, a particular account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumstantially described by Sallust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had recourse to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean opposite to Spain.\* The Roman name was scarce known in it, and the people were absolutely unknown to the Romans. Jugurtha insinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin; especially as the Romans, who were sworn enemies to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either side by no other tie than that of interest, had never been strong; and a last defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose he had desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as quæstor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to put himself into the hands of the barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself on sincerity, and was for ever projecting new designs, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating in this uncertainty, and conflicting with a contrariety of sentiments: and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole person, showed evidently how strongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

Sylla, says Plutarch,† acted on this occasion, like a young man fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he had just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reserved the greatest part of it to himself, and had a

\* Now comprehending Fez, Moroco, &c. † Plut. in vit. Marii.



ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus ; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult, that he could never forgive him ; and this circumstance gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans, which afterwards broke out with so much fury, and cost the republic so much blood.

[A. M. 3901. A. Rom. 645. Ant. J. C. 103.] Marius entered Rome in triumph,\* exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their eyes ; I mean Jugurtha in chains : that so formidable an enemy, during whose life they had not dared to flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war ; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artifice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate. We are told, that Jugurtha ran distracted, as he was walking in the triumph ; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into prison ; and that, the lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was cast, quite naked, and in the utmost terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp ; an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds, Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition ; ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected so much honour on polite literature and the sciences, that I could not, without impropriety, omit him in the history of the family of Masinissa, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter. He slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, [A. M. 3959. A. Rom. 703.] in which his forces and those of Scipio were entirely defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history, that a noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned among the Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. [A. M. 3974. A. Rom. 719. Ant. J. C. 30.] Augustus restored them to him, when by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were absolutely at his disposal. Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his subjects ; who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pausanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians erected in his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the Muses, should give public testimonies of its esteem for a king who made so bright a figure among the learned. Suidas† ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant. He had written the history

\* Plut. in vit. Marii.

† In voce 'Ιόβας.



of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, of grammar, and similar subjects; a catalogue of all which is given in Abbe Sevin's short dissertation on the life and works of the younger Juba,\* whence I have extracted these few particulars.

\* Vol. 1v. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 457.

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## BOOK THE THIRD.

THE

# HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE FIRST EMPIRE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

#### SEC. I.—DURATION OF THAT EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. With respect to its duration, two opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, give it a duration of thirteen hundred years: others reduce it to five hundred and twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or probably the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire, might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinions, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile them.

The history of those early times is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us so contrary to each other, and the systems of the moderns\* upon that matter so different, that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestible. But where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the holy Scripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all probability the

\* They that are curious to make deeper researches into this matter, may read the dissertations of Abbé Banier and M. Freret upon the Assyrian empire, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; for the first, see Tome 3, and for the other, Tome 5, as also what Father Tourne-  
nemine has written upon this subject in his edition of Menochius.

first and most ancient of all those who have ever aspired after that denomination.

The Babylonians,\* as Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves at least to be of 1903 years standing when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon; which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to say 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time in which we suppose Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed, this testimony of Callisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that empire, is not esteemed authentic by the learned; but the conformity we find between it and the holy Scriptures should make us regard it.

Upon these grounds, I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted with more or less extent and glory upwards of 1450 years,† from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the last king, that is to say from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

[A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204,]—Nimrod.—He is the same with Belus‡ who was afterwards worshipped as a god under that appellation.

He was the son of Chus, grandson of Ham, and great grandson of Noah. He was, says the Scripture, 'a mighty hunter before the Lord.'§ In applying himself to this laborious and dangerous exercise, he had two things in view; the first was, to gain the people's affection by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beasts; the next was, to train up numbers of young people by this exercise of hunting to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time, after they had been accustomed to his orders and seasoned in arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In ancient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his son: for Diodorus|| has these words, 'Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of the glory that results from valour, he armed a considerable number of young men, that were brave and vigorous like himself; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means accustomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity.'

What the same author adds,¶ that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of ancient tradition, which informs us, that the sons of Chus, and by consequence the brothers of Nimrod, all settled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian gulf, from Havilah to the Ocean; and lived near enough to their

\* Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de cælo.

† Here I depart from the opinion of Archbishop Usher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes with Herodotus, to have lasted but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod lived and Sardanapalus died I take from him.

‡ Belus or Baal signifies Lord. § Gen. x. 9. || Lib. ii. p. 90. ¶ Ib.

brother to lend him succours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian further says of Ninus, that he was the first king of the Assyrians, agrees exactly with what the Scripture says of Nimrod, 'that he began to be mighty upon the earth;' that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the same polity and the same laws, and formed them into one state; which, for those early times, was of a considerable extent, though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which, in succeeding ages, made new acquisitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.

'The capital city of his kingdom,'\* says the Scripture, 'was Babylon.' Most of the profane historians ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis, others to Belus. It is evident, that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founder of the city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis nor to Nimrod, but the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in Scripture,† who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal.

Josephus relates,‡ upon the testimony of a Sibyl (who must have been very ancient, and whose fictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians), that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still greater, to rebuild a city and a tower which God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeasure. But the Scripture says no such thing; and it is very probable, the building remained in the condition it was, when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus,§ was this very tower, which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

It is further probable, that this ridiculous design having been defeated by such an astonishing prodigy, as none could be the author of but God himself, every body abandoned the place, which had given Him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it afterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates, and subdued those that lived round about it, beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass: 'Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon.' The other cities, which the Scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Assyria, and there built Nineveh, 'De terra illa egressus est Assur, et ædificavit Nineven.'|| This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the first man who possessed it; as if it were, 'egressus est in Assur, in Assyriam.' And this seems to be the most natural construction, for many reasons not necessary to be recited in this place. The country of Assyria is described, in one of the prophets,¶ by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: 'Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, et terram Nimrod

\* Gen. x. 10. † Gen. xi. 4. ‡ Hist. Jud. l. i. c. 4. § Lib. i. c. 181.  
|| Gen. x. 11. ¶ Mic. v. 61.

in lanceis ejus ; et liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram.\* It derived its name from Assur, the son of Shem, who without doubt had settled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection, by the usurper Nimrod.

This conqueror having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur,\* did not ravage them like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects, as he was by his old ones ; so that the historians,† who have not examined into the bottom of this affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the rest, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The son, in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears evident, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who showed others the way to that sort of immortality which human acquirements are supposed capable of bestowing.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by profane authors, because the Scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of Scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson to our piety. The holy penman has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us ; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose, that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God. These two persons, so unlike one another, are the first two and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and a desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity ; the other, the love of God, even to the contemning of one's self.

Ninus.—I have already observed, that most of the profane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

Having a design to enlarge his conquests,‡ the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his designs. And having received powerful succours from the Arabians, his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At his return, before he entered upon any new conquests, he conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the building of a city answerable to the greatness of his power ; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the Tigris.§ Possibly he did no more than finish

\* Gen. x. 11, 12. † Diod. l. ii. p. 90. ‡ Diod. l. ii. p. 90—5.

§ Diodorus says it was on the banks of the Euphrates, and speaks of it as if it were so, in many places ; but he is mistaken.



the work his father had begun. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and to put it out of the power of those that came after him ever to build, or hope to build, such another. Nor was he deceived in his view; for never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this; it was one hundred and fifty stadia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety stadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth; and consequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty stadia, or sixty miles. For this reason we find it said in the prophet Jonah, 'That Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days journey;'<sup>\*</sup> which is to be understood of the whole circuit, or compass of the city.<sup>†</sup> The walls of it were a hundred feet high, and of so considerable a thickness, that three chariots might go abreast upon them with ease. They were fortified and adorned with fifteen hundred towers two hundred feet high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Ctesias, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and about sixteen thousand chariots armed with scythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, since, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the city of Syracuse alone, in the time of Dionysius the Tyrant, furnished one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides four hundred vessels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to send into the field near a million of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have seen all his attempts miscarry, had it not been for the diligence and assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and peculiarly exempt from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria. I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nursed and brought up by pigeons, since that historian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and thus became master of the city, in which he found an immense treasure. The husband of Semiramis having killed himself, to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife, Ninus married her.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a son by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She, in honour of his memory, erected a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

I find no appearance of truth in what some authors relate<sup>‡</sup> concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them,

<sup>\*</sup> Jon. iii. 3.    <sup>†</sup> It is hard to believe that Diodorus does not speak of the extent of Nineveh with some exaggeration; therefore some learned men have reduced the stadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile instead of eight, the usual computation.

<sup>‡</sup> Plut. in Mor. p. 753.

having secured the chief men of the state, and attached them to her interest by her benefactions and promises, she solicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. He yielded to her entreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after some years imprisonment.

Semiramis.—This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name,\* and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her enterprises. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the building of the mighty Babylon,† in which work she employed two millions of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them altogether, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works which rendered Babylon so famous, are the walls of the city; the quays and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals, made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such a surprising magnificence as is scarce to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this subject with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge him.

I. THE WALLS.—Babylon stood on a large plain, in a very fat and rich soil.‡ The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thickness eighty-seven feet, in height three hundred and fifty, and in compass four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs,§ or fifteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that country, which binds much stronger and firmer than mortar, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and, therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch.

In every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promises to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him ‘That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.’|| Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the

\* Diod. l. ii. p. 95. † We are not to wonder if we find the founding of a city ascribed to different persons. It is common, even among the profane writers to say, such a prince built such a city, whether he was the person that first founded it, or that only embellished or enlarged it.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 178, 180. Diod. l. ii. p. 95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

§ I relate things as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they say as to the immense extent of Babylon and Nineveh.

|| Isa. xlv. 2.

four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square went twenty-five streets, in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets was fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly crossing each other at right angles. And, besides these, there were also four half-streets, which had houses only on one side, and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad; the rest were about a hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares,\* on every side towards the street, stood the houses (which were not contiguous, but had void spaces between them), all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

II. THE QUAYS AND BRIDGE.—A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite across that city,† from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay, and a high wall built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, over against every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, and from thence descents by steps to the river, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. The brazen gates were always open in the daytime and shut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings, either in beauty or magnificence; it was a furlong in length,‡ and thirty in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. The arches were made of huge stones fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in so doing, besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared beforehand, both the bridge and the quays, which I have already described, were built in that interval.

III. THE LAKE, DITCHES, AND CANALS, MADE FOR THE DRAINING OF THE RIVER.—These works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all

\* Quint. Curt. l. i. v. c. l. † Herod. l. i. c. 180 et 186. Diod. l. ii. p. 96.

‡ Diodorus says, this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, since the Euphrates was but one furlong broad.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 735.



ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer,\* on the sun's melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia, there arises a vast increase of waters, which, running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July, and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt. To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from these inundations,† at a very considerable distance above the town two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon. And to secure the country yet more from the danger of inundations,‡ and to keep the river within its channel, they raised prodigious banks on both sides the river, built with brick cemented with bitumen, which began at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river, for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, forty miles square,§ one hundred and sixty in compass, and thirty-five feet deep, according to Herodotus, and seventy-five, according to Megasthenes. Into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of its increase, might not overflow the city, through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflowings was kept there all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices, at convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was equally useful in defending the country from inundations, and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon as they are delivered down to us by the ancients; but there are some of them which are scarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the vast extent of the lake which I have just described.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of most of these works; but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two quays of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might finish what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. THE PALACES, AND HANGING GARDENS.—At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces,|| which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river, at the time of its being dry. The old palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace which stood on the west side of the river opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs (or seven miles and a half) in compass. It was sur-

\* Strab. l. xvi. p. 740. Plin. l. v. c. 26.

† Abyd. ap. Eus. Præp. Evang. ix. ‡ Abyd. ib. Herod. l. i. c. 185.

§ The author follows Herodotus, who makes it four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles square; but I choose to follow Dean Prideaux, who prefers the account of Megasthenes. || Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.



rounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals, to the life. Amongst the rest was a curious hunting-piece, in which Semiramis on horseback was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

In this last palace, were the hanging gardens,\* so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four hundred feet on every side, and were carried up in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad: over these was a layer of reeds, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaster. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away through the arches. The earth laid hereon was so deep, that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terraces were covered as well as with all other plants and flowers that were proper to adorn a pleasure-garden. In the upper terrace there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.

Amytis,† the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country), had been much delighted with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as she desired to have something like it in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected: Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

V. THE TEMPLE OF BELUS.—Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus,‡ which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower, that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other, decreasing regularly to the top, for which reason Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only asserted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as Bochart asserts,§ that this is the very same tower which was built there at the confusion of languages: and the rather, because it is

\* Diod. p. 98, 99. Strab. xvi. 738. Quint. Curt. v. 1. † Beros. ap. Jos. cont. App. i. 6. ‡ Herod. l. i. c. 181. l. ii. p. 98. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

§ Phal. part l. l. i. c. 9.

attested by several profane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it; that is, perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which, turning by very slow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms, with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in astronomy than all other nations, and made, in a short time, the great progress in it ascribed to them in history.

But the chief use to which this tower was designed was the worship of the god Belus or Baal, as also that of several other deities; for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one forty feet high, which weighed a thousand Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Pollux in his *Onomasticon*, contained seven thousand Attic drachmas, and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but six thousand drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes of the riches contained in this temple, the sum total amounts to six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold.

The sixth part of six thousand three hundred is one thousand and fifty; consequently, six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of silver are worth upwards of two millions and one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The proportion between gold and silver among the ancients we reckon as ten to one; therefore seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one and twenty millions sterling.

This temple stood till the time of Xerxes;\* but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and in order thereto, set ten thousand men to work to rid the place of its rubbish; but, after they had laboured therein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon so famous; the greater part of them are ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, to whose history it is now time to return.

When she had finished all these great undertakings,† she thought fit to make a progress through the several parts of her empire; and, wherever she came, left monuments of her magnificence by many noble structures, which she erected, either for the conveniency or ornament of her cities;

\* Herod. l. i. c. 193. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. Arrian. l. vii. p. 483.

† Diod. l. ii. p. 100—106.

she was particularly careful to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highways easy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.

The authority this queen had over her people seems very extraordinary,\* since we find her presence alone capable of appeasing a sedition. One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately, with her head half dressed, and did not return till the disturbance was entirely appeased. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very attitude and undress, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of *Æthiopia*. Whilst she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, to enquire of the oracle how long she had to live. According to Diodorus, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son *Ninyas* conspired against her, and that after her death one part of *Asia* would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against *India*. On this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed *Bectra* for the rendezvous. As the strength of the *Indians* consisted chiefly in their great number of elephants, she caused a multitude of camels to be accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is said that *Perseus* long after used the same stratagem against the *Romans*; but neither of them succeeded in this artifice. The *Indian* king having notice of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, she came out of wantonness to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deserved. Tell your master (replied the queen), that in a little time I myself will let him know who I am. She advanced immediately towards the river *Indus*, from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a sufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army.— Their passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle she put her enemies to flight. Above a thousand of their boats were sunk, and above a hundred thousand of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success, she advanced directly into the country, leaving sixty thousand men behind to guard the bridge of boats which she had built over the river. This was just what the king desired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As soon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a second engagement ensued, more bloody than the first. The counterfeit elephants could not long sustain the shock of the real ones: these routed her army, crushing whatever came in their way. *Semiramis* did all that lay in her power to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The swiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge,

\* Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 3.

to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those who could save themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopt the enemy; and the king likewise, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of prisoners at Bectra, returned to her own dominions with scarce one third of her army, which (according to Ctesias, consisted of three million foot and five hundred thousand horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. I have no doubt that this account is highly exaggerated, or that there is some mistake in the numeral characters. She, and Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I must own I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with the times so near the deluge: I mean, such vast armies, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with sithes, and such immense treasures of gold and silver; all which seem to be of a later date. The same thing may likewise be said of the magnificence of the buildings, ascribed to them. It is probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the similarity of names, by their ignorance in chronology, and the resemblance of one event with another, may have ascribed such things to more ancient princes, as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprises, to one, which ought to be divided amongst a series of them, succeeding one another.

Semiramis, some time after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her principal officers had offered him his assistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her, according to the promise of the oracle. And indeed, we are told, she was worshipped by the Assyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived sixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the memoirs of the academy of belles lettres\* two learned dissertations upon the Assyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Justin† says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to induce him to comply with her criminal desires, and was slain by him: all this, I say, is so void of all appearance of truth, that to go about to confute it would be but losing time. It must however be owned, that almost all the authors, who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

\* Vol. III. p. 343, &c. † Lib. i. c. 2.



I do not know but that the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce Plato\* to maintain, in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of public affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states : and, by necessary consequence, ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. Nor does he so much as except those exercises, wherein it was customary to fight stark naked, alleging, that the virtue of the sex would be a sufficient covering for them.

It is just matter of surprise to find a philosopher so judicious in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, virtues which are the principle ornament of the female sex, and insisting so strongly upon a principal sufficiently confuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations in the world.

Aristotle, wiser in this than his master Plato, without doing the least injustice to real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgment marked out the different ends to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the Author of Nature, who has given the one strength of body and intrepidity of mind to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers : whilst the other, on the contrary, is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, and to employ herself in the concerns of prudent and industrious economy.

Xenophon† is of the same opinion with Aristotle : and in order to set off the occupation of the wife, who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the queen-bee, who alone governs and has the superintendence of the whole hive, who distributes all their employments, encourages their industry, presides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family, regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new swarms in colonies, to ease and disburthen the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of constitution and inclination, designedly made by the Author of Nature between man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and peculiar offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or lessening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domestic empire and government, administered only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good nature ; and in giving her frequent occasions of concealing the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and submission. For it must ingenuously be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real and solid merit have distinguished themselves above their sex ; as there have been innumerable instances of men, who by their defects have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no

\* Lib. v. de Rep. p. 451—457. † De administr. dom. p. 839.

rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and prescribed by the Creator himself.

Ninyas\*.—This prince was in no respect like those from whom he received his birth, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself shut up in his palace, and seldom showed himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whose fidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him.

His successors, for thirty generations, followed his example, and even surpassed him in indolence. Their history is absolutely unknown, there remaining no footsteps of it.

In Abraham's time [A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912.] the Scripture speaks of Amraphael, king of Shinar, the country where Babylon was situated, who with two other princes followed Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.

It was under the government of these inactive princes, that Sesostris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests so far in the East. [A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491.] But as his power was of a short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon returned to its former state.

[A. M. 2820. Ant. J. C. 1184.] Plato,† a curious observer of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priam, dependant on the Assyrian empire. And Ctesias says, that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Ninyas, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonis, at a time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above a thousand years; which agrees exactly with the time wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire. But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and one which must needs have been well known, renders this fact exceeding doubtful. And it must be owned that whatever relates to the times of the ancient history of the Assyrians, is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

[A. M. 3233. Ant. J. C. 771.] Pul.‡—The Scripture informs us that Pul, king of Assyria, being come into the land of Israel, had a thousand talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance. and secure him on his throne.

This Pul is supposed to be the king of Nineveh who repented, with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, called, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardanpul; that is to say, Sardan, the son of Pul.

Sardanapalus.§—This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effemi-

\* Diod. l. ii. p. 108. † De Leg. l. iii. p. 685. ‡ 2 Kings, xv. 19.

§ Diod. l. ii. p. 109—115. Athen. l. xii. p. 529, 530. Just. l. i. c. 3.

naey, uxury, and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but spent all his time amongst a company of women, dressed and painted like them, and employed like them at the distaff. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possession of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He ordered two verses to be put upon his tomb, which imported that he had carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, but left all the rest behind him.

Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exaturata libido  
Hausit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relictæ.

An epitaph, says Aristotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governor of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and having with his own eyes seen Sardanapalus in the midst of his infamous seraglio, enraged at such a spectacle, and not able to endure that so many brave men should be subject to a prince more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately formed a conspiracy against him. Belesis, governor of Babylon, and several others, entered into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the King hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with some forces which he had assembled, he at first gained three successive victories over the enemy, but was afterwards overcome, and pursued to the gates of Nineveh; wherein he shut himself, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take a city so well fortified, and stored with provisions for a considerable time: the siege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle that Nineveh could never be taken unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words buoyed up Sardanapalus, because he looked upon the thing as impossible. But when he saw that the Tigris, by a violent inundation, had thrown down twenty stadia\* of the city wall, and by that means opened a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. [A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.] He resolved, however, to die in such a manner, as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and setting fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women, and his treasures. Athenæus makes these treasures amount to a thousand myriads of talents of gold,† and ten times as many talents of silver, which, without reckoning any thing else, is a sum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thousand; and one single myriad of talents of silver is worth thirty millions of French money, or about one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling. A man is lost if he attempts to sum up the whole value, which induces me to believe that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be assured, from his account, that the treasures were immensely great.

Plutarch, in his second treatise, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes consists, after having shown that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the history of the Assyrians, in which we are now engaged. Semiramis

\* Two miles and a half,      † About fourteen hundred millions sterling.

and Sardanapalus (says he) both governed the same kingdom; both had the same people, the same extent of country, the same revenues, the same forces and number of troops; but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same views. Semiramis, raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror every where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his sex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually surrounded with a company of women, whose dress and even manners he had adopted, applying himself with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing any other thing than spinning, eating and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleasure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him, after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words:—‘Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing:’\* an inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch, in this place, judges of Semiramis as almost all the profane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But, if we would make a true judgment of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less blameable than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus? Which of the two vices did most mischief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having passed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire were formed three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty: that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governor of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, the first king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, it is proper, and even absolutely necessary, to compare what is said of it by profane authors with what we are informed concerning it by holy Scripture; that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, and afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of this second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, BOTH OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON.

THIS second Assyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the East by the death of his father Cambyzes and his father-in-law

\*Ε σθιε, πίνε, ἀφροδισιάζε· τ' ἄλλα δὲ οὐδέν.



Cyaxares, published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a seventy years' captivity at Babylon.

## KINGS OF BABYLON.

[A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.]\*—Belesis.\* He is the same as Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epocha at Babylon, called from his name the *Æra* of Nabonassar. In the Holy Scriptures he is called Baladan. He reigned but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son

Merodach-Baladan. This is the prince who sent ambassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reigned several other kings of Babylon,† with whose story we are entirely unacquainted. I shall, therefore, proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

## KINGS OF NINEVEH.

[A. M. 2257. Ant. J. C. 747.]—Tiglath-Pileser. This is the name given by the Holy Scripture to the king, who is supposed to be the first that reigned at Nineveh, after the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire. He is called Thilgamus by *Ælian*.‡ He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so ancient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz, king of Judah,§ whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at the same time by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase its assistance, promising him besides to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Assyria finding so favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the proposal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah and Amos.|| From thence he marched against Pekah, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, as well as all Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant sums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver of the temple. Thus this alliance served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh, who afterwards became so many instruments in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people.

[A. M. 3276. Ant. J. C. 728.]—Shalmanezar.¶ Sabacus, the Ethiopian, whom the Scripture calls So, having made himself master of Egypt, Hoshea, king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependence upon Shalmanezar, refusing to pay him any further tribute, or make him the usual presents.

\* 2 Kings, xx. 12.

† Can. Ptol.

‡ Lib. xxii. hist. anim. c. 21. Castor apud Euseb. Chron. p. 49.

§ 2 Kings, xvi. 7, &c. || Is. viii. 4. Am. i. 5. ¶ 2 Kings xvii.

Shalmanezar, to punish him for his presumption marched against him with a powerful army; and after having subdued all the plain country, shut him up in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hoshea with chains, and threw him into prison for the rest of his days, carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel, or, of the ten tribes, destroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about two hundred and fifty years.

It was at this time that Tobit,\* with Anna his wife, and his son Tobias, was carried captive into Assyria, where he became one of the principal officers of king Shalmanezar.

Shalmanezar died, after having reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son

Sennacherib.†—[A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717.] He is also called Sargon in scripture.

As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed the demand of the tribute exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal he declared war against him, and entered into Judæa with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent ambassadors to him to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, seemingly mollified, entered into treaty with him, and demanded a very great sum of gold and silver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple and his own coffers to pay it. The Assyrian, regarding neither the sanction of oaths nor treaties, still continued the war, and pushed on his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and of all the strong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was likewise reduced to the utmost extremity. At this very juncture‡ Sennacherib was informed that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined his forces with those of the king of Egypt, was coming up to succour the besieged city. Now it was contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah that the chief men at Jerusalem had required any foreign assistance. The Assyrian Prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with spoil.

It was probably during Sennacherib's absence,§ which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured in a miraculous manner; and that (as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple), the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah,

\* Tob. c. i.

† Is. xx. l. 2 Kings, xviii. and xix.

‡ 2 Kings, xix. 9.

§ 2 Kings, xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31.

sent ambassadors to him with letters and presents, to congratulate him upon that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happened in the land at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to show his ambassadors the riches and treasures he possessed, and to let them see the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action discovered a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly, he instantly informed the king by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures which he had been showing to those ambassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon; and that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having sent ambassadors thither; nor did Jerusalem then seem to have any thing to fear, but from Nineveh; whose power was at that time formidable, and who had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

But to return to Sennacherib.\* After he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jerusalem, and besieged it anew. The city seemed to be inevitably lost: it was without resource, and without hope from the hands of men; but had a powerful protector in Heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh against his sacred name. In one single night a hundred and eighty-five thousand men of his army perished by the sword of the destroying angel. After so terrible a blow, this pretended king of kings (for so he called himself), this triumpher over nations, and conqueror even of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miserable remnant of his army, covered with shame and confusion: nor did he survive his defeat more than a few months, only to make a kind of open confession of his crime to God, whose supreme majesty he had presumed to insult, and who now, to use the scripture terms, having 'put a ring into his nose, and a bridle into his mouth,' as a wild beast, made him return in that humbled, afflicted condition, through those very countries, which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his disgrace, he treated his subjects in the most cruel and tyrannical manner. The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites,† of whom he caused great numbers to be massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper rendered him so insupportable to his own family, that his

\* 2 Kings, xix. 35—37.

† Tobit, i. 18—24.

two eldest sons conspired against him, and killed him in the temple,\* in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him. But these two princes being obliged after this parricide to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esarhaddon, their youngest brother.

[A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.]—Esarhaddon.† We have already observed that after Merodach-Baladan there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years interregnum, full of troubles and commotions. Esarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon, and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having re-united to the Assyrian empire Syria and Palestine, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he entered the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. But that the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled—‘Within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people.’‡ This was exactly the space of time which elapsed between the prediction and the event: and the people of Israel did then truly cease to be a visible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

This prince,§ having possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his generals with part of his army into Judæa, to reduce that country likewise under his subjection. These generals defeated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.

Meantime the colonies|| that had been sent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievously infested with lions. The king of Babylon being told that the cause of this calamity was their not worshipping the God of the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them, from among the captives brought from that country to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolators did no more than admit the true God amongst their ancient divinities, and worshipped him jointly with their false deities. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the primary source of the aversion entertained by the Jews against the Samaritans.

Esarhaddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son

Saosduchinus.—[A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669.] This prince is called in Scripture Nabuchodonosor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is called Nabuchodonosor the First.

Tobit was still alive at this time,¶ and dwelt among other captives at

\* 2 Kings, xix. 37. † Can. Ptol. ‡ Is. vii. 8. § 2 Chron xxxiii. 11, 13.  
|| 2 Kings, xvii. 25—41. ¶ Tobit, xiv. 5, 13.



Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold to his children the sudden destruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city, before its ruin came on, and to depart as soon as they had buried him and his wife.

‘The ruin of Nineveh is at hand,’ says the good old man, ‘abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction.’ These last words are very remarkable, ‘the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction.’ Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Nineveh to any other reason; but we are taught by the Holy Ghost, that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with other states that imitate her crimes.

Nabuchodonosor defeated the king of the Medes,\* in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign, upon the plain of Ragau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and returned triumphant to Nineveh. When we come to treat of the history of the Medes, we shall give a more particular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was besieged by Holofernes, one of Nabuchodonosor’s generals; and that the famous enterprise of Judith was accomplished.

Saracus,† otherwise called Chynaladanus.—This prince succeeded Saosduchinus; [A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 648.] and having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects, by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years.

[A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.] Nabopolassar.—This prince, the better to maintain his usurped sovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly destroyed that great city. We shall speak more largely of this great event, when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forwards the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Assyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Nicho, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that to stop their progress he marched towards the Euphrates at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians for what relates to this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.

Nabopolassar‡ finding, that after the taking of Carchemish by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nabuchodonosor partner with him in the empire, and sent him with an army to reduce those countries to their former subjection.

[A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 606.] From this time the Jews begin to reckon the years of Nabuchodonosor, viz. from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth.

\* Judith, i. 5, 6.

† Alex. Polyhist.

‡ Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. i.

But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

Nabuchodonosor II.\*—This prince defeated Necho's army, near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and re-united those provinces to his dominions.

He likewise entered Judæa, besieged Jerusalem, and took it:† he caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to the throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. Thus was the judgment which God had denounced by the prophet Isaiah to king Hezekiah accomplished. From this famous epocha, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but twelve years old,‡ was carried captive among the rest; and Ezekiel sometime afterwards.

Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim died Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, after having reigned one and twenty years.§ As soon as his son Nabuchodonosor had news of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desert, attended only with a small retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of those that had carefully preserved it for him, and so succeeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which, according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

[A. M. 3401. Ant. J. C. 603.] In the fourth year of his reign he had a dream,|| at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind. He thereupon consulted the wise men and soothsayers of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the substance of his dream. They all answered, that it was beyond the reach of their art to discover it; and that the utmost they could do, was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with opposition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nabuchodonosor, imagining they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the sentence, as being ranked among the wise men. But Daniel, having first invoked his God desired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. 'The thing thou sawest (says he to him) was an image of an enormous size, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And as the king was attentively

\* Jer. xlv. 2. 2 Kings, xxiv. 7. + Dan. i. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

† Some imagine him to have been eighteen years of age at this time.

‡ Can. Ptol. Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. 10.

|| Dan. c. ii.

looking upon that vision, behold, a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and the stone smote the image upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.' When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewise the interpretation thereof, showing him how it signified the three great empires, which were to succeed that of the Assyrians, namely the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to some), that of the successors of Alexander the Great. 'After these kingdoms (continued Daniel) shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever.' By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The king, ravished with admiration and astonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared that the God of the Israelites was truly the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governors over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honours and dignities.

At this time\* Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, whose generals, that were still in Judæa, marched against him, and committed all kinds of hostilities upon his country. 'He slept with his fathers,' is all the Scripture says of his death. Jeremiah had prophesied that he should neither be regretted nor lamented, but should 'be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem:' this was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

Jechonias† succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nabuchodonosor's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months time he himself came at the head of his army, and made himself master of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple: he carried away likewise a vast number of captives, amongst whom was king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise called Zedekiah.

This prince‡ had as little religion and prosperity as his forefathers. Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter soon chastised him for it, and immediately laid siege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the besieged a gleam of hope; but their joy was very short-lived; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned against Jerusalem, and renewed the siege, which lasted near a twelvemonth. At last the city was taken by storm, [A. M. 3415. Ant. J. C. 589.] and a terrible slaughter ensued. Zedekiah's two sons were, by Nabuchodonosor's orders, killed before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah. Zedekiah himself

\* 2 Kings, xxiv. 1, 2. † Al. Jehoiakim. 2 Kings, xxiv. 6—18.

‡ 2 Kings, xxiv. 17—20, and xxv. 1—10.



had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demolished.

Upon Nabuchodonosor's return to Babylon,\* after his successful war against Judæa, he ordered a golden statue to be made, sixty cubits† high, assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occasion it was that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refused to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preserved after a miraculous manner in the midst of the flames. The king, himself a witness of this astonishing miracle, published an edict, whereby all persons whatsoever were forbidden upon pain of death, to speak any thing amiss against the God of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.

Nabuchodonosor, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, marched again into Syria, and besieged Tyre, at the time when Ithobal was king thereof. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which had never been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth‡ and magnificence. It had been built by the Sidonians two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants made their escape in ships, and founded the city of Tyre; and for this reason we find it called in Isaiah, 'the daughter of Sidon.'§ But the daughter soon surpassed the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist, thirteen years together, a monarch to whose yoke all the rest of the East had submitted.

It was not till after so long an interval|| that Nabuchodonosor made himself master of Tyre. His troops suffered incredible hardships before it; so that, according to the prophet's expression, 'every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled.'¶ Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, half a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of Ancient Tyre.

Nabuchodonosor and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege,\*\* and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had rendered Almighty God (it is the expression of the prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make them amends, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt. And indeed they soon after conquered that country, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians.

\* Dan. iii. † Ninety feet. ‡ Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. Is. xxiii. 8.  
Just. l. xviii. c. 3. § Is. xxiii. 12. || Jos. Ant. l. x. c. 11. et con.  
Ap. l. i. ¶ Ezek. xxix. 18, 19. \*\* Ibid. xxix. 18—20.



When this prince had happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he employed himself in putting the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing, of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus\* an account of the magnificent structures ascribed to this monarch by several writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

Whilst nothing seemed wanting to complete this prince's happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose,† and filled him with great anxiety. 'He saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great: the tree grew, and was strong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven, and cried—Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from its branches; nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones; to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.'

The king, justly terrified at this dreadful dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king himself, plainly declaring to him, 'That he should be driven from the company of men for seven years, should be reduced to the condition and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and feed upon grass like an ox; that his kingdom nevertheless should be preserved for him, and he should repossess his throne, when he should have learnt to know and acknowledge, that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven.' After this he exhorted him to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor.

All these things came to pass upon Nabuchodonosor, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said—'Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?' Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? And yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced his sentence:—'In the same hour his understanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws.'

\* Antiq. l. x. c. 11.

† Dan. cap. 4.

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recovered his senses and the use of his understanding :—‘ He lifted up his eyes unto heaven (says the Scripture) and blessed the Most High ; he praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation ;’ confessing, ‘ that all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth ; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, what doest thou ?’ Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him ; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Penetrated with the heartiest gratitude, he caused, by a solemn edict, to be published through the whole extent of his dominions what astonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this he died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the East. He was succeeded by his son

Evil-Merodach.\*—[A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 563.] As soon as he was settled in the throne he released Jechonias, king of Judah, out of prison, where he had been confined near seven and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which lasted but two years, the learned place Daniel’s detection of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel ; the innocent artifice by which he contrived to destroy the dragon, which was worshipped as a god ; and the miraculous deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

Evil-Merodach rendered himself so odious by his debauchery† and other extravagancies, that his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death.

[A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560.]—Neriglissor, his sister’s husband, and one of the chief conspirators, reigned in his stead.

Immediately on his accession to the crown,‡ he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxares send for Cyrus out of Persia, to his assistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was slain in battle in the fourth year of his reign.

[A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556.]—Laborosoarchod, his son, succeeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the most vicious inclinations, he indulged them without restraint when he came to the crown, as if he had been invested with sovereign power only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months ; his own subjects conspiring against him, put him to death. His successor was

Labynitus, or Nabonidus.—[A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.] This prince had likewise other names, and in Scripture that of Belshazzar. It is on good grounds supposed that he was the son of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and, consequently, grandson to Nabuchodonosor, to whom, according to Jeremiah’s prophecy, the nations of the East were to be

\* 2 Kings, xxv. 27—30. † Beros. Megasthen. ‡ Cyrop. l. i.

subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him: 'All nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land shall come.'\*

Nitocris is that queen who raised so many noble edifices in Babylon.† She caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription dissuading her successors from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remained closed till the reign of Darius, who, upon his breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures he had flattered himself with discovering, found nothing but the following inscription:—

'If thou hadst not an insatiable thirst after money, and a most sordid, avaricious soul, thou wouldst never have broken open the monuments of the dead.'

In the first year of Belshazzar's reign,‡ Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them. In the third year of the same reign he had the vision§ of the ram and the he-goat, which prefigured the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, should bring upon the Jews. I shall hereafter make some reflections upon these prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

Belshazzar, whilst his enemies were besieging Babylon,|| gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feast was greatly disturbed by a vision, and still more so by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported that his kingdom was taken from him and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belshazzar killed.

[A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536.]—Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having subsisted two hundred and ten years from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MEDES.

[A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.]—I took notice, in speaking of the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire, that Arbaces, general of the Median army, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus: and several writers believe that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

The Assyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Asia,¶ began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes

\* Jer. xxvii. 7. † Herod. l. i. cap. 165, &c. ‡ Dan. c. vii.

§ Dan. c. viii. || Dan. c. v. ¶ Herod. l. i. c. 95.



first threw off their yoke, and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour ; but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence, and rapine prevailed every where, because there was nobody that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders at length induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than ever it was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into six tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person, seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and passed for a man, not only regular in his own conduct, but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary to govern others.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever : he succeeded so well that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence, and his cares had all the success that had been expected from them ; for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual disorders suffered not to live in quiet, observing the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he presided as judge, began to apply to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces which they could meet with no where else.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judged it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the compassing his point. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be over-fatigued with the multitude of people that resorted to him from all quarters, and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to the public tranquillity. Whenever any persons addressed themselves to him, he told them that his own domestic affairs would not allow him to attend to those of other people.

The licentiousness which had been for some time restrained by the judicious management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as soon as he had withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs ; and the evil increased to such a degree that the Medes were obliged to assemble and deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to the public disorder.

There are different sorts of ambition : some violent and impetuous, carrying every thing as it were by storm, hesitating at no kind of cruelty or murder : another sort, more gentle, like that we are speaking of, puts on an appearance of moderation and justice, working under ground (if I may use that expression), and yet arrives at her point as surely as the other.



Dejoces, who saw things succeeding according to his wish, sent his emissaries to the assembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the public evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented, that unless the face of the republic was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice that now reigned in all parts would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved; and the whole company was convinced that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done was to choose a king; and about this their deliberations were not long. They all agreed there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces, so that he was immediately, with common consent, elected king.

If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms in any age or country whatsoever, we shall find that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original design of monarchy. Indeed there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace if all men were resolved to be independent, and would not submit to an authority which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preserve the rest. Mankind must be perpetually at war, if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and safety, they must have a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. And the Scripture teacheth us,\* that the Divine Providence has not only allowed of the project, and the execution of it, but consecrated it likewise by an immediate communication of his own power.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater than to see a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employments, and yet through inclination and modesty preferring a life of obscurity and retirement; than to see such a man sincerely refuse the offer made to him of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, from no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow-citizens. His first disposition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and consequently with the dangers, annexed to a sovereign power, shows him to have a soul more elevated and great than greatness itself; or, to speak more justly, a soul superior to all ambition: nothing can show him so perfectly worthy of that important charge as the opinion he has of his not being so, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generously sacrifices his own quiet and satisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, it is plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redressing various evils; of causing law and

\* Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty : and he comforts himself for the cares and troubles to which he is exposed by the prospect of the many benefits resulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa, at Rome ; and such have been some other emperors, whom the people found it necessary to compel to accept the supreme power.

It must be owned (I cannot help repeating it) that there is nothing nobler or greater than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did ; to affect to appear outwardly what a man is not inwardly ; to refuse for a time, and then accept, with a seeming repugnancy, what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret underhand practices to obtain ; this double-dealing has so much meanness in it that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and extremely sullies the lustre of those good qualities, which, in other respects, he possesses.

[A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.]—Dejoces reigned fifty-three years.\* When he had ascended the throne he endeavoured to convince the people that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring of order. At first he resolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire an awe and respect for his person. He obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged fittest to be his guards, from their attachment to his interests, and his reliance on their fidelity.

After having thus provided for his own security, he applied himself to polish and civilize his subjects, who, having been accustomed to live in the country and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted the disposition and manners of savages. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himself the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compassed about with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures ; in the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household ; and the intermediate spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people. The first and largest enclosure was about the bigness of Athens. The name of this city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful ; for, besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the several parapets were painted formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his thoughts to composing of laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off ('major ex longinquo reverentia,'—Tacit.) he began

\* Herod, l. i. c. 96—101.

to keep himself at a distance from his people ; was almost inaccessible, and, as it were, invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak, or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interposition of his officers. And even those that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This able statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For having to deal with men yet uncivilized, and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid, that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against a growing power, which is generally looked upon with invidious and discontented eyes. But by keeping himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wise laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of all his subjects.

It is said, that from the innermost part of his palace he saw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law ; and the punishment treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain degree during his administration : but there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniences necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates ; the custom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their sincerity for the truth of facts ; of not suffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons, to be conveyed to him any other way than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted ; men that stopped up all avenues to remonstrances, or the reparation of injustice themselves, with so much the more ease and assurance, as their iniquity remained undiscovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this, methinks, that very affectation in princes of making themselves invisible, shows them to be conscious of their slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was so wholly taken up in humanizing and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprise against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reigned fifty-three years.

Phraortes reigned twenty-two years.\* After the death of Dejoces, his son Phraortes, called otherwise Aphraartes,† succeeded. The affinity between these two names would alone make one believe that this is the king called in Scripture Arphaxad : but that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in father Montfaucon's learned dissertation, of which I have here made great use. The passage

\* Herod. c. 102.

† He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Græc. and by Geor. Syncel.



in Judith, 'that Arphaxad built a very strong city; and called it Ecbatana,'\* has deceived most authors, and made them believe, that Arphaxad must be Dejoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the Vulgate translation renders 'ædificavit,' says only, 'that Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana.'†— And what can be more natural, than that, the father not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting?

Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attacked the Persians;‡ and defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the Upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of mount Taurus, from Media as far as the river Halys.

Elate with this good success, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time indeed weakened through the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor, their king, otherwise called Saosduchinus, raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to several other nations of the East,§ to require their assistance. They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his ambassadors, letting him see, that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquest even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by its soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was still very numerous, and for four months together did nothing but feast and divert himself with those who had accompanied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Assyria sent Holophernes with a powerful army, to revenge himself of those who had refused him succours; the progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in assurance that their God would defend them, the extremity to

\* Judith, i. 1. + Ἐπωδόδμησε ἐπὶ Ἐκβατάνοισ. Judith, Text. Gr.

† Herod. l. i. c. 102.

§ The Greek text places these embassies before the battle.



which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book.

[A. M. 3369. Ant. J. C. 635.] Cyaxares I. reigned forty years.\* This prince succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave enterprising prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow of the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Asia. But what he had most at heart was, to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

The Assyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was destroyed before Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Assyrians were defeated, and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but the time was not yet come when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madyes in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who had advanced as far as Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this irruption, raised the siege from before Nineveh, and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was going to overrun all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The barbarians, finding no other obstacle in their way, overspread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that, they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammiticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient of the temples dedicated to that goddess. Some of the Scythians settled at Bethshan, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians for the space of twenty-eight years were masters of the Upper Asia, namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colcbis, and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a dangerous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians massacred. The Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient boundary westward.

The remaining Scythians, who were not at this feast,† having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Halyattes,

\* Herod. l. i. c. 103—106.      † Ibid. l. i. c. 74.

who received them with great humanity. This occasioned a war between the two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years, with almost equal advantage on both sides. But the battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, when on a sudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified at this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides, and made peace. Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Nabuchodonosor,\* king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render it more firm and inviolable, the two princes were willing to strengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed that Halyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, eldest son of Cyaxares.

The manner these people had of contracting an alliance with one another is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made incisions in their own arms, and licked one another's blood.

[A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.]—Cyaxares's first care,† as soon as he found himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruption of the Seythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in a league against the Assyrians. Having therefore united their forces, they besieged Nineveh, took it, killed Saracus the king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.

God had foretold by his prophets above a hundred years before that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his servants; wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themselves like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciless hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed that not so much as a vestige of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereafter, where did the proud city of Nineveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves: 'Woe unto the bloody city‡ (cries Nahum), it is all full of lies and robbery: he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel. I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horsemen lifteth up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear. The shield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation?

\* In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.

† Herod. l. i. c. 106.

‡ Nahum, iii. 1.

and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is desolate. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.\* And Huzzab shall be led away captive: she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves tabring upon their breasts. I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is no end of their corpses; they stumbled upon their corpses. Where is the dwelling of the lions,† and the feeding places of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine: the Lord shall destroy Assur.‡ He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling place for wild beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately, and so exalted; which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures.'

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares prosecuting his victories, made himself master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolassar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his son Astyages.

[A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595.] Astyages reigned thirty-five years.—This prince is called in Scripture Ahasuerus. Though his reign was very long, no less than thirty-five years, yet have we no particulars recorded of it in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandane, by a former marriage. In his father's lifetime he married Mandane to Cambyses, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia: from this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

Cyaxares II.—This is the prince whom the Scripture calls Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyses, he united the kingdom of the Medes and the Persians into one: in the sequel, therefore, they will be considered only as one empire.

\* The author in this place renders it, Her temple is destroyed to the foundations. But I have chosen to follow our English Bible, though in the Latin it is *capitulum*.

† This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Assyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, especially Judæa, and carried away the spoils of them to Nineveh.

‡ Zeph. ii. 13—15.



I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus ; which will include also what is known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Cræsus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

The kings who first reigned over the Lydians,\* are by Herodotus called Atiadæ, that is, descendants from Atys. These, he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys ; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before this time were called Mœonians.

These Atiadæ were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of five hundred and five years.

Argo, great grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Lydia. [A. M. 2781. Ant. J. C. 1223.]

The last was Candaules. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty ; and, being infatuated by his passion for her, was perpetually boasting of her charms to others. Nothing could serve him, but that Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see, and judge of them by his own eyes ; as if the husband's own knowledge of them was not sufficient for his happiness, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his silence. The king to this end placed Gyges secretly in a convenient place ; but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it. Judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty, she studied a signal revenge for the injury she had received ; and, to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly, a secret passion for Gyges had as great a share in that action, as her resentment for the dishonour done her. Be that as it will, she sent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime, either by his own death, or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules became master of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom passed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Mermadæ. [A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718.]

Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongst the Lydians, and almost all other barbarians, it was reckoned shameful and infamous even for a man to appear naked. These footsteps of modesty, which are met with amongst pagans, ought to be reckoned valuable. We are assured that, among the Romans, a son, who was coming to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law ; and this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as enjoined by the law of nature, the

\* Herod. l. i. c. 7—13.



violation whereof was criminal. It is astonishing, that amongst us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.

Plato relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus.\* He tells us that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems, which the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. This story, thus explained, carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, that if a wise man had such a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose;† because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.

[A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718.]—Gyges reigned thirty-eight years.‡ The murder of Candaules raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large presents to the temple of Delphi, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value, Herodotus mentions six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money, which is about forty-eight thousand pounds sterling.

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, he made war against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After he had reigned thirty eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son Ardys [A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680.] who reigned forty-nine years.§ It was in the reign of this prince that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of Sardis, with the exception of the citadel.

[A. M. 3373. Ant. J. C. 631.]—Sadyattes reigned twelve years.|| This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finished that of Miletus, and was succeeded by his son.

[A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619.]—Halyattes reigned fifty-seven years.¶ This is the prince who made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He

\* Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 359. † Hunc ipsum anulum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet. *Honestas enim bonis viris, non occulta quærentur.*—Lib. iii. de offic. n. 38.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 13, 14.

§ Ibid. l. i. c. 15.

|| Ibid. l. i. c. 16, 22.

¶ Ibid. c. 19, 22.

likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attacked and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously prosecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father, and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner :—Halyattes, upon an answer he received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn, and other provisions, assembled by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the sight of a signal that should be given, to be all in a general humour of feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador at his arrival was in the utmost surprise to see such plenty in the market, and such cheerfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, preferred peace to so apparently fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

[A. M. 3442. Ant. J. C. 562.]—Cræsus. His very name, which is become a proverb, conveys an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphi, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. We may partly account for the treasures of this prince,\* from certain mines that he had, situate, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarna; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had no longer the same advantage.

What is very extraordinary, this affluence did not enervate or soften the courage of Cræsus.† He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. For his part he was perpetually in arms, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who had then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks settled in Asia Minor.

But what is still more extraordinary in this prince, though he was so immensely rich, and so great a warrior, yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those famous learned men, so revered by antiquity, and distinguished by the name of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

Solon, one of the most celebrated amongst them,‡ after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and splendour, dressed in the most magnificent apparel, which was all over enriched with gold, and glittered with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was

\* Strab. l. xiii. p. 625, et l. xiv. p. 680. † Herod. l. i. c. 26—28.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 29—33. Plut. in Sol. p. 23, 94.

the least moved at it, nor did he utter a word which discovered the least surprise or admiration; on the contrary, people of sense might sufficiently discern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all this outward pomp as an indication of a little mind which knows not in what true greatness and dignity consist. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.

He afterwards ordered that all his treasures, his magnificent apartments, and costly furniture, should be showed him, as if he expected, by the multitude of his fine vessels, jewels, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indifference. But these things were not the king, and it was the king that Solon was come to visit, and not the walls and chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and desolate.

When Solon had seen all, he was brought back to the king. Cræsus then asked him which of mankind, in all his travels, he had found the most truly happy? 'One Tellus (replied Solon), a citizen of Athens, a very honest and good man, who, after having lived all his days without indigence, having always seen his country in a flourishing condition, has left children that are universally esteemed, has had the satisfaction of seeing those children's children, and at last died gloriously in fighting for his country.'

Such an answer as this, in which gold and silver were accounted as nothing, seemed to Cræsus to denote a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flattered himself that he should be ranked at least in the second degree of happiness, he asked him, 'Who, of all those he had seen, was the next in felicity to Tellus?' Solon answered, 'Cleobis and Biton, of Argos, two brothers,\* who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due from children to their parents. Upon a solemn festival, when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two sons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot thither, which was above five miles distant. All the mothers of the place, ravished with admiration, congratulated the priestess on being the mother of such sons. She, in the transports of her joy and thankfulness, earnestly entreated the goddess to reward her children with the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the sacrifice was over, her two sons fell asleep in the very temple, and there died in a soft and peaceful slumber.† In honour of their piety, the people of Argos consecrated statues to them in the temple of Delphi.'

'What then (says Cræsus, in a tone that showed his discontent) you do not reckon me in the number of the happy?' Solon, who was not willing either to flatter or exasperate him any further, replied calmly—'King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which has produced amongst

\* Φιλαδελφούς καὶ φιλομήτορας διαφερόντως ἄνδρας

† The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

us a plain popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or ostentation, and therefore not well suited to the courts of kings : this philosophy, considering what an infinite number of vicissitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any prosperity we enjoy ourselves, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient or superficial.' From hence he took occasion to represent to him further, ' That the life of man seldom exceeds seventy years, which make up in all six thousand two hundred and fifty days, of which no two are exactly alike ; so that the time to come is nothing but a series of various accidents, which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion (continued he), no man can be esteemed happy, but he whose happiness God continues to the end of his life ; as for others, who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain as the crown is to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory.' Solon retired, when he had spoken these words, which served only to mortify Cræsus, but not to reform him.

Æsop, the author of the Fables, was then at the court of this prince ; by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and said to him by way of advice, ' Solon, we must either not come near princes at all, or speak things that are agreeable to them.'—' Say rather (replied Solon) that we should either never come near them at all, or else speak such things as may be for their good.'

In Plutarch's time some of the learned were of opinion that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several credible writers, by whom this story is attested.

What we have now related of Cræsus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery ; and shows us at the same time the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one is a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and of judging favourably of all that admire them, and show an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect ; which is sometimes counterfeited so exactly that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Cræsus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good nature, affability, and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning, which shows that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for the sciences. His weakness was, that he laid too great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions, mistook regal pomp and splendour for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those that stood in a kind of adoration before him.

Those learned men, those wits and other courtiers, that surrounded



this prince, ate at his table, partook of his pleasures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality; took care not to thwart the prince's taste, and never thought of undeceiving him with respect to his errors of false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace but in terms of admiration and rapture; because they knew this was the sure way to please him, and to secure his favour. For flattery is nothing else but a commerce of falsehood and lying, founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other. The flatterer desires to advance himself and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a subtle and better prepared poison than any adulation gives him.

That maxim of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still retained somewhat of the spirit and character of slavery, though he had varnished it over with the address of an artful courtier; that maxim of his, I say, which recommended to Solon, 'That we should either not come near kings, or say what is agreeable to them,' shows us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all sincerity, integrity, and duty, from his presence. In consequence of which, we see he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have set an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truth; truths unpalatable, and bitter to self-love at the present, but that may prove very salutary and serviceable for the future. 'Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, sed quod audisse semper volent.' These are Seneca's own words, where he is endeavouring to show of what great use a faithful and sincere friend may be to a prince; and what he adds further seems to be written on purpose for Cræsus:—'Give him (says he) wholesome advice. Let a word of truth once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You will ask me what service can be done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of felicity? That of teaching him not to trust in his prosperity; of removing that vain confidence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; of making him understand, that every thing which belongs to and depends upon fortune, is as unstable as herself: and that there is often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation and the most unhappy downfall.'

It was not long before Cræsus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him.\* He had two sons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great consolation and delight. The father one night had a dream, which made a great impression upon his mind, that this beloved son of his was to perish by iron. This became a new source of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partizans,

\* Herod. l. i. c. 34—45.

lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or sieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly importuned his father that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but intrusted him to the care of a discreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus; and this very Adrastus, as he was aiming his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. It is impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, stabbing himself in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral pile of the unfortunate Atys.

Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mourning,\* the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had sustained. But the growing reputation and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himself known, roused him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterprise without consulting the gods. But that he might not act blindly, and in order to be able to form a certain judgment on the answers he should receive, he was willing to assure himself beforehand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to inquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Cræsus was doing on such a day, and such an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually observed; and of all the oracles none gave a true answer but that of Delphi. The answer was given in Greek hexameter verses, and was in substance as follows:—'I know the number of the grains of sand on the sea shore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learned to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise boiled in brass, together with sheep's flesh, has reached my nostrils, brass beneath, brass above.' And, indeed, the king, thinking to invent something that could not be guessed at, had employed himself on the day and hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot, which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God, to punish the blindness of the Pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformable to the truth.

Cræsus, thus assured of the veracity of the god, whom he designed to consult, offered three thousand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of a hundred and seventeen, to augment the treasures of the temple of Delphi. Each of these ingots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents: amongst others, Herodotus mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary size, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ; the other

\* Herod. l. i. c. 46—50.

of silver, which contained six hundred of the measures called amphoræ. All these presents, and many more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

The messengers were ordered to consult the god upon two points : first, whether Cræsus should undertake a war against the Persians ; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered, upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians, he would subvert a great empire ; upon the second, that he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was, that it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media ; which he considered as an assurance of the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the direction of the oracle, Cræsus entered into alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their head, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

A certain Lydian, much esteemed for his prudence, gave Cræsus, on this occasion, very judicious advice\* :—‘ O prince (says he to him), why do you think of turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, who, being born in a wild rugged country, are inured from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue, who, being coarsely clad and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water ; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniences of life ; who, in a word, have nothing to lose if you conquer them, and every thing to gain if they conquer you ; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they should once come to taste the sweets and advantages of it ? So far therefore from thinking of beginning a war against them, it is my opinion we ought to thank the gods that they have never put it into the heads of the Persians to come and attack the Lydians.’ But Cræsus had taken his resolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the history of Cræsus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

\* Herod. l. i. c. 71.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

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### THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES, BY CYRUS:

CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF CYRUS, OF CAMBYSES,  
AND SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE HISTORY OF CYRUS.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit on this subject than the former; and as to those facts wherein they differ, I shall think it sufficient briefly to relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known that Xenophon served a long time under the younger Cyrus, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom, undoubtedly, this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, in order to acquaint himself by that means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*:—‘ Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure in informing myself of his birth, his natural disposition, and the method of his education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince; and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me.’

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus—“That Xenophon’s design, in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government;” this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus’s history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates is to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy Scripture is of itself a



sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the Abbe Banier upon this subject in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.\*

For the greater perspicuity, I divide the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon: the second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that event: the third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

## ARTICLE I.

### THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM HIS INFANCY TO THE SIEGE OF BABYLON.

This interval, besides his education, and the journey he made into Media to his grandfather Astyages, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

#### SECT. I.—CYRUS'S EDUCATION.

[A. M. 3405. Ant. J. C. 529.]—Cyrus was the son of Cambyses,† king of Persia, and of Mandane, daughter to Astyages, king of the Medes.—He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandane.

The Persians were at this time divided into twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vast country which has since borne the name of Persia, and were not in all above one hundred and twenty thousand men. But this people having afterwards, through the prudence and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of country which reaches, from east to west, from the new Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean. And still to this day the country of Persia has the same extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more deserving of esteem for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good nature and humanity, and had a great desire for learning, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired.—He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent in those days with respect to education.

The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws.‡ The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often render them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common after one uniform manner; where every thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children, or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered, that a plain, frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age.

\* Vol. 6. p. 400. † Xen. Cyrop. l. i. p. 3. ‡ Cyrop. l. i. p. 3—8.

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences ; and the crime most severely punished amongst them was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced that it is much better to prevent faults than to punish them : and whereas in other states the legislators are satisfied with enacting punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age the boys remained in the class of children ; and here it was they learned to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or javelin ; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more narrowly watched and kept under than before, because that age requires the strictest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years ; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up ; and in this they remained five-and-twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By this means every citizen might aspire to the chief posts in the government ; but no one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and qualified himself for them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all ; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

## SECT. II.—CYRUS'S JOURNEY TO HIS GRANDFATHER ASTYAGES, AND HIS RETURN INTO PERSIA.

When Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandane took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who, from the many things he had heard said in favour of that young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence, reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his eyes coloured,\*

\* The ancients, in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. It is said of Jezebel, ‘ Depinxit oculos suos stibio,’ 2 Kings, ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality, which shrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6. From hence comes that epithet, which Homer so often gives to his goddesses : ‘ great-eyed Juno.’

his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery did not dazzle Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was the utmost plenty and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus looked upon with great indifference; and observing Astyages to be surprised at his behaviour: "The Persians (says he to the king), instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose." Astyages having allowed Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to show his resentment.—Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect shown to this officer for whom he had a particular regard, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: "Is that all, papa? (replied Cyrus); if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he." Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace that charmed both Astyages and Mandane. When he had done, he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy: "O Sacas! poor Sacas! thou art undone; I shall have thy place." Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said: "I am mighty well pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve me with a better grace; but you have forgotten one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting." And indeed the cup-bearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king: "No (replied Cyrus), it was not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony." "Why, then, (says Astyages) for what reason did you do it?" "Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor." "Poison, child! How could you think so?" "Yes; poison, papa; for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what: you yourself seemed

to have forgotten that you were king, and they that they were subjects ; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs." " Why (says Astyages) have you never seen the same thing happen to your father ?" " No, never (says Cyrus)." " How is it with him when he drinks ?" " Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that's all."

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian in giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story : he might have done it in a serious, grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher ; for Xenophon, warrior as he was, was no less a philosopher than his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which, in the original, is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandane being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated requests his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media ; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, anxious to oblige, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator ; their affairs became his ; and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the Babylonians\* (this was Evilmerodach, son of Nabuchodonosor), at a hunting-match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to show his bravery, to make an irruption into the territories of the Medes ; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory which the Medes gained over the Babylonians was chiefly owing to his valour.

The year after, [A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583.] his father recalling him, that he might complete his course in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion showed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback ; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners : but when they found

\* In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians ; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital thereof.



that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

### SECT. III.—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CYRUS, WHO GOES TO AID HIS UNCLE CYAXARES AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.

[A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560.]—Astyages, king of the Medes, dying,\* was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Cræsus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares therefore dispatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry); but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of whom was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all; and these were the officers that were called *ὀμότιμοι*,† and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pike-men, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to one-and-thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to the choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having praised them for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. "Do you know (says he to them) the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting either the toil of war or the sight of danger; whereas you that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to your meals; fatigues are

\* Cyrop. l. i. p. 22—37.

† Men of the same dignity.

your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of *our* cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and it is our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just than to repel the injury they offer us? Is there any thing more honourable, than to fly to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of our confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection; for you know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

[A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.]—Cyrus soon after set out without loss of time; but before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyzes had often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin; whereas the gods<sup>d</sup> being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is expedient for them; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.

Cambyzes accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia; and in the way gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. "Have your masters (says Cambyzes to him) given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emulation amongst them, of making yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved by your soldiers?" Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your masters have taught you?" "They have taught me to fence (replied the prince), to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp." Cambyzes, smiling, gave his son to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer and an expert commander to know: and in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. One short instance of this discourse may serve to give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, what are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? "The way to effect that (says Cyrus) seems to be very easy, and very certain; it is only to praise and reward those that obey, to punish and stigmatise such as fail in their duty." "You

say well (replied Cambyses) ; that is the way to make them obey you by force ; but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now the sure method of effecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves : for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle, from whence that blind submission proceeds which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship's company to the pilot. Their obedience is founded only upon their persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and better informed in their respective callings than themselves." " But what shall a man do (says Cyrus to his father) to appear more skilful and expert than others ?" " He must really be so (replied Cambyses) ; and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprise ; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success."

As soon as Cyrus had arrived in Media, and reached Cyaxares,\* the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thousand foot and sixty thousand horse ; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number of foot ; and as to the cavalry the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived.— But this expedient, besides that it would have taken up too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser, Cyrus was of opinion that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was highly approved, and instantly put into execution.

Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops,† and inspired them with a surprising emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. He valued money only as it allowed him an opportunity of being generous. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or merit ; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. " A commander could not (he said) give actual proofs of his munificence to every body,

\* Cyrop. l. ii. p. 38—40.

† Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.

and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good will ; for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and affability ; by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so.”\*

One day,† as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he desired his presence immediately. “ For that purpose (says he) I have brought you a rich garment ; for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour.” Cyrus lost not a moment’s time, but instantly set out with his troops to wait upon the king ; though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not (as the Greek text has it)‡ polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares seeming at first a little displeased at it : “ If I had dressed myself in purple (says Cyrus), and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now by my expedition, and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and dispatch your orders are obeyed.”

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king their master to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians, and that they had orders, as soon as they had heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part ; to the end that the king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power : to be influenced only by justice, to seek no advantage from the division of neighbours, but declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel that he declared for the Medes.

[A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557.]—The king of Armenia,§ who was a vassal of the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold on this occasion to shake off their yoke. Accordingly, he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed

\* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 207. † Ibid. l. ii. p. 56.

‡ Ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ οὐδὲν τι ὑβριμένε. A fine expression, but not to be rendered into any language with the same beauty. § Cyrop. l. iii. p. 58—61. and l. iii. p. 62—70.



a great hunting-match on that side of the country ; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some days' hunting, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers ; and sent Chrysantas with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasure.

This being done, he sends a herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time orders his troops to advance. Never was greater surprise, and the perplexity was equally great. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done ; and was now destitute of every resource. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters ; and, in the mean time, dispatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts, that Cyrus was coming close after him, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them if they staid in their houses ; but that as many as were taken running away, should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysantas had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters ; his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence ; where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and soon obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought into the midst of the army. At the very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said : " Prince, you are come very seasonably, to be present at the trial of your father." And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes ; and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were then in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately and in order, whether it was not true,

that he had made war against Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather ; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat concluded a treaty with Astyages ; whether, by virtue of that treaty, he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country ? It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. " For what reason, then (continued Cyrus), have you violated the treaty in every article ? " " For no other (replied the king) than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition." " It is really glorious (answered Cyrus) to fight in defence of liberty : but if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him ? " " I must confess (says the king), I would punish him." " And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to have conducted himself amiss, would you continue him in his post ? " " No, certainly ; I would put another in his place." " And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices ? " " I would strip him of them." " But, which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him ? " " Though I should pass sentence upon myself (replied the king), I must declare the truth : I would put him to death." At these words Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments. The women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect : " Great prince, can you think it consistent with your prudence to put my father to death, even against your own interest ? " " How against my interest ? " replied Cyrus. " Because he was never so capable of doing you service." " How do you make that appear ? Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour ? " " They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For of inestimable value is wisdom ; Are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it ? Now it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs ; but you have happily accomplished all yours ; and with that expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked ; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him." " But your father (replied Cyrus) has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom." " The fear of evils (answered Tigranes), when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger, and more prevailing motive, than any whatever : and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives, and children, all restored to him with such a generosity ; where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service ? "

"Well, then, (replied Cyrus, turning to the king,) if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?" "My troops and treasures (says the Armenian king) are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to money, I reckon, that, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the Chaldeans,\* with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted a hundred, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. "But what would you give me (added Cyrus) for the ransom of your wives?" "All that I have in the world," (answered the king.) "And for the ransom of your children?" "The same thing." "From this time, then, you are indebted to me twice the value of all your possessions." "And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your wife?"—Now he had but lately married her and was passionately fond of her. "At the price (says he) of a thousand lives, if I had them." Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. "Alas! (says Tigranes) he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him. My father (continued Tigranes) seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, conceived some suspicions against him and put him to death. But he was so worthy a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: 'Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.'" "O the excellent man! (cried Cyrus) never forget the last advice he gave you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. "And you (says Tigranes, addressing himself to his bride), what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?" "I did not observe him," replied the lady. "Upon what object then did you fix your eye?" "Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives as a ransom of my liberty."

The next day the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money

\* Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia, Chaldeans; but Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739, style them so. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Armenia.



he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper for several reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair ; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find in Xenophon.

In the first place it may serve to give the reader a notion of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, the natural and unaffected beauties of which are sufficient to justify the singular esteem which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance ; what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time what a wonderful simplicity, and delicacy of thought, are there in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her husband !

In the second place, those short, close, and pressing interrogatories, each of which demand a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and show how well he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this narrative will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's *Cyropædia* ; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down concerning government. Thus much therefore in the event we are treating of is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners ; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his proportion of troops ; and after all, so won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfullest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian, than to the history itself.

I should never myself have found out what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father signified, though I was very sensible it had some enigmatical meaning in this place. A person of quality,\* one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, gave me an explanation of it many years ago, which I have not forgotten, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed that Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, of whom the state of Athens became jealous, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him ; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought proper not to miss this opportunity of pointing out such qualities in my hero as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank ; and such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the

\* M. le Comte de Tresvilles.



success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle by their glare : but an inward stock of goodness, compassion, and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest ; a constant, unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to print such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere ; and, lastly, such a clemency, as to distinguish those that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them an opportunity to return to their duty : these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but which shone forth most conspicuously in Cyrus.

To return to my subject.\* Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do himself some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strong-holds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminence to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus had expected this, and had only placed them there to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them that he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms ; and he then set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence which commanded the whole country ; and left the strong garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus, understanding that there was a frequent intercourse and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct the ambassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, the king should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more

\* Cyrop. l. iii. p. 70—76.

advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied by some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed to act with all the dexterity in their power, and to do Cyrus's merit that justice which it so well deserved.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

#### SECT. IV.—THE EXPEDITION OF CYAXARES AND CYRUS AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.—THE FIRST BATTLE.

[A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556.]—Both parties had been employed\* three years together in forming the alliances and making preparations for war. Cyrus, finding the troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against the Assyrians. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him, as soon as possible, of the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it were better they should eat up the enemy's country, than their own; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians, would spread a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own troops with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyses, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon, therefore, as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and, in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer: and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour; after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days' journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance against them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country; and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus, on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army, covered his troops with several little hills and

\* Cyrop. l. iii. p. 78—87.

villages. For several days nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, 'Jupiter, protector and conductor.\*' He then caused the usual hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour (*θεοσεβῶς*), answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. 'For it is observable (says the historian in this place) that on these occasions those that fear the Deity most are the least afraid of men.' On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Cræsus and their own king to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to their very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their entrenchments, sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians, in the mean time,† their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. As soon as Cræsus found them in so great a disorder,‡ he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity; moreover, that he was unwilling to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

The greatest part of the Median soldiers followed Cyrus, who set out upon his march in pursuit of the enemy. Upon the way he met some

\* I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the name of the gods of his own country.

† Cyrop. lib. iv. p. 87—104.

‡ Ibid. l. vi. p. 160.



couriers, that were coming to him from the Hyrcanians\* who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which, in fact they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time. and having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Crœsus had sent away his wives in the night time, for coolness (for it was the summer season), and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and dismay. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed; all that staid in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses that were taken in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and as for the prisoners, he gave them all liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire security.

Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths, prepared for them, that at their return they might have nothing to do but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion that this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity towards their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments and the division of the spoil; and that they would show a preference of their interests and conveniencies before their own; giving them to understand that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing new victories over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them only to send some bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided (he said) with all they wanted, either for their ragouts, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragout, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning they proceeded to the division of the spoils. Cyrus, in the first place, ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was most proper to be offered to the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the

\* These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian Sea. From observing Cyrus's encampments in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days journey south of Babylon.



honour of dividing all that remained amongst the whole army. They earnestly desired that the Persians might preside over the distribution, but the Persians absolutely refused it; so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy,\* Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning when he awaked he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he dispatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who in return writ him a respectful letter; in which, however, with a generous and noble freedom, he justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.

Amongst the prisoners of war whom they had taken† there was a young Princess of most exquisite beauty, whom they had reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her, for fear (as he said) such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view. This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Persians never to speak before young people of any thing that had any reference to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the young lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition. ‘I have seen a great many persons (says he) that have thought themselves very strong, overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution; who have owned afterwards, with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery from which they had not the power to redeem themselves: an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of bond or necessity more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron.’—‘Fear nothing (replied Araspes) I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life that I shall do nothing contrary to my duty.’ Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that, finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence towards her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his

\* *Cyrop.* l. iv. p. 104—108. † *Lib.* v. p. 114, 117, et l. vi. p. 153, 155.

‡ *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 34.

conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, remained silent. Some days afterwards Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him, acknowledging that he himself was to blame for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. ‘Alas! (says he) now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly that I have two souls; one, that inclines me to good, another that incites me to evil. The former prevails when you speak to me and come to my relief; when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to, and am empowered by, the latter.’ Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

The loss of so brave an officer,\* whom discontent was supposed to have engaged on the enemy’s side, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; she meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians, with two thousand horse, and was directly carried to Panthea’s tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and circumspectly she had been treated by the generous conqueror. ‘And how (cried out Abradates) shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?’—‘By behaving towards him (replied Panthea) as he hath done towards me.’ Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and grasping the hand of his benefactor, ‘You see before you (says he to him) the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithfullest ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service.’ Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, accompanied by so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that Prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

Two Assyrian noblemen,† likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas’s son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king’s son had missed: the

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 155, 156.

† Ibid. l. iv. 111, 113.

latter, who was of a passionate and savage nature. Immediately struck him with his lance through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. This young king was called Laborosoarchod: [A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.] he reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonidus, called also Labynitus and Belshazzar, who reigned seventeen years.

The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadatas; \* he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner after he came to the throne, because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.

The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus,† and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it: to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out therefore with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This nobleman came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country; then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment which he took the liberty to offer him. 'I willingly accept your gold and silver (says Cyrus), and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be her riches nor yours which they will value. I can assure you there are many amongst them that would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods.' Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he stedfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and ate with him and his officers. The ground and the green turf that was upon it, was all the couches they had; and it is to be sup-

\* Cyrop. l. v. p. 123, 124.

† Ibid. p. 119, 123.



posed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride and the Persians by merit; and above all things, he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

Cyrus,\* always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadatas, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the Sacæ† and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadatas, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, made an offer to the governor of it to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the country of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the Sacæ furnished ten thousand foot and two thousand horse archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadatas for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a challenge to terminate their quarrel by a single combat; but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of truce or treaty with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

When he came near the frontiers‡ he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country, and an army that was going to receive a further augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus, who likewise advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very numerous and in good condition. The sight of these troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfac-

\* Cyrop. l. v. p. 124—140. † Not the Sacæ of Scythia.

‡ Cyrop. l. v. p. 141—147.



tion of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid receiving his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into an explanation with his uncle. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of the rectitude of his heart, his respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses; and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Crœsus and the Babylonians.\* In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares, and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the year wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Crœsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

Cyrus,† then, about this time thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after he had left it, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage to Cyrus,‡ with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful sense of this

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 148—151.

† Ibid: l. viii. 228, 229.

‡ Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable that either of them should wait till that age before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Beside, at that rate, Cambyses would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Æthiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do, but I follow the chronology of Archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the Cyropædia (l. viii. p. 228), that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old.

advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it ; but thought himself not at liberty to accept it till he had gained the consent of his father and mother ; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages of the respectful submission and entire dependence which all children ought to show to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

Foreseeing\* (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it strongly. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise, as if the enemy had been always in sight.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey only to raise up some new enemy against him ; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

In this interval,† ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted ; that he was willing to be his friend and ally ; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know ; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents ; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in fact to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not recognize in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant that it was an open violation of the law of nations, to send spies to an enemy's court under the title of ambassadors ; which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery ?

Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle,‡ like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 151.    † Ibid. p. 156, 157.    ‡ Ibid. l. vi. p. 157.

had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart, or shoot an arrow, the most dexterously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and showed them all possible favour, in order to encourage them. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited a surprising ardour throughout his whole army. In a word, he was a general who, in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his meals, his conversations, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the good of the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

In the mean time\* the Indian ambassadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word that Cræsus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great reinforcement was marching, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up together with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Cræsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and spies,

Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news.† But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears and revived their courage.

Cyrus had taken all proper measures‡ that his army should be provided with all necessaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances: in the same manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel, though never so small.

This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names;§ and

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 158.

† Page 159.

‡ Page 158—163.

§ Ibid. l. v. p. 131, 132.



making use of a low, but significant comparison, he used to say, 'he thought it strange that a workman should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations.' Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe they are both known and esteemed by their general.

When all the preparations were finished\* Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who well knew how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to meet them in their own territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine that this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

#### SECT. V.—THE BATTLE OF THYMBRA, BETWEEN CYRUS AND CRÆSUS.

This battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided upon the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. It was this consideration that induced M. Freret,† one of my brethren in the Academy of Belles Lettres, to examine it with a particular care and exactness; and the rather, because, as he observes, it is the first pitched battle of which we have any full or particular account. I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because as Cyrus is looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the military profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action; moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles, forms an essential part of their history.

In Cyrus's army the companies of foot consisted of a hundred men each,‡ exclusively of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four platoons, which consisted of four and twenty men each, not including the person that commanded. Each of these divisions was again subdivided into two files, consisting of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently an-

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 160, 161.  
Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

† Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the  
‡ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.



swers to what we call colonel; and ten of those bodies had again another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

I have already observed\* that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the thirty thousand Persians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them till then made use of javelins only, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes, and left few of his soldiers light armed.

The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horse-back.† Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by little and little formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers, which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to a hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand native Persians, viz. ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pikemen, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of a hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and a hundred thousand foot of the same nation.

Besides these troops‡ Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were arrow-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size,§ upon each of which was placed a tower, of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked abreast.

There was moreover a considerable number of camels,|| upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back, so that one looked towards the head and the other towards the tail of the camel.

Croesus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus,¶ amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, of which sixty thousand were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians; to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of a hundred and

\* Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39, 40.

+ Lib. iv. p. 99, 100, and l. v. p. 138.

‡ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 152, 153, 157. § Ibid. p. 156. || Ibid. p. 153, 158.

¶ Ibid. p. 158.

twenty thousand. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Phœnicians, Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

Crœsus's army was ranged in order of battle in one line,\* the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were a hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of Crœsus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, which had a hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Crœsus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left; and the design of Crœsus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadia, or five miles in length.

Araspes who, under the pretence of discontent, had retired to Crœsus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth,† but Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his battalions, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partizans, battle-axes, and swords; and provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe that the Lydian battalions, that were armed only with light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysantes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently was at each end near four stadia, or half a mile, short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spearmen, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by soldiers in their front, over whose heads they could fling their javelins, and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was to have their

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 166.

† Ibid. p. 167.

eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that fled; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

To close all these lines,\* and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of a hundred each. One of these bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

The next day, very early in the morning, Cyrus made a sacrifice,† during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was sight more beautiful and magnificent; coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most: men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass,‡ which was only of quilted linen, according to the fashion of his country, his wife, Panthea, came and presented him with a helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she could not refrain from shedding tears. But, notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not to signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. 'Our obligations (says she) to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 168.

† Page 169.

‡ Page 169, 170.



destined for him ; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife, and in return I assured him you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness.'—' O Jupiter ! (cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven) grant, that on this occasion, I may approve myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor !' Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, kissed the chariot he rode in, and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.

As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice,\* given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his post. Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals ;† he ate a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise, and poured out a part of it as an offering to the gods before he drank ; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance ; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, ' Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee.'‡ And that instant he set forwards, having Chrysantas on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arasmas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to pay attention to the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out ; and the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his troops halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army ; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemies had observed how much their front exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to enclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, ' Jupiter, leader and protector,' he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

He rode through all the ranks,§ to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers ; and he, who on all other occasions was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory : ' Follow me, comrades (says he), the victory is certainly ours: the gods are for us.' He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the movement which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to

\* Cyrop. l. vi. p. 170.    † Lib. p. 172.

‡ He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.    § Cyrop. l. vii. p. 173—176.



attack them on the two flanks: 'Those troops alarm you (says he); believe me, those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots.' In fact the event happened just as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended,\* Cræsus gave the signal to the main body, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings that were wheeling round upon their flanks advanced on each side, so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank: and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as ever they were sensible of the approach of those animals (for horses cannot endure the smell of camels) began to snort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion, a small body of horse, commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots, armed with scythes, falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed with a dreadful slaughter.

This being the signal† which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, but for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forwards in

\* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 176.

† Ibid. l. vii. p. 177.

close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the moving towers; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

Cyrus in the mean time\* having put both the horse and foot to flight on the left of the Egyptians, did not lose time in pursuing the fugitives. But, pushing on directly to the centre, he had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear; the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, ran headlong into the thick forest of pikes to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions if they would surrender, letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions; and, as they prided themselves no less upon their fidelity than on their courage, they stipulated that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Cræsus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

Xenophon observest† that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cumæ, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's as also many other in several parts of his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of what he advances, show plainly that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

The battle lasted till evening. Cræsus retreated, as fast as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night, directed their course, each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some military men, to whom I have communicated this descrip-

\* *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 178.

† *Ibid.* l. vii. p. 179.

tion, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus drew up his forces in order of battle; as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Cræsus had detached to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is possible such a circumstance might have escaped Xenophon in describing this battle.

It is allowed that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever after retained by the Persians. The camels, too, were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes that in his time they made other use of them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour; in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall soon see what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military man himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if, on a day of battle, he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Cræsus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes with regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

But let us return to the camp of the Persians.\* It is easy to imagine

\* *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 184—186.



what must be the affliction and distress of Panthea, when the news was brought her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and leaning her head upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes stedfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her misery with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathised with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shown to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

#### SECT. VI.—THE TAKING OF SARDIS AND OF CRÆSUS.

The next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis.\* If we may believe Herodotus, Cræsus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city, which Cyrus quickly besieged;† causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling-ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves in all quarters. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Cræsus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city,‡ he had a private conversation with the king, of whom he asked among other

\* Herod. l. i. c. 79—84.

† Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

‡ Ib. vii. 181—184.



things, what he now thought of the oracles of Delphi, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom it was said, he had always had a great regard? Cræsus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shown a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him; so that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead a happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness when he once came to the knowledge of himself. 'For want of this knowledge (continued he), and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in war against a prince infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my fate is in your hands), I shall certainly be so.' Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him (as Cræsus acknowledged himself) from all the burthensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead a happy life, exempt from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, or to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

I have already observed,\* that the only son Cræsus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scymitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the string of his tongue, and cried out, 'Soldier! spare the life of Cræsus.'

Cræsus being a prisoner,† was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly, the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the conversation he had with Solon, was wofully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried aloud three times, 'Solon! Solon! Solon!' Cyrus, who with the chief officers of his court was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Cræsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and re-

\* Herod. l. i. c. 85.

† Ibid. c. 86—91. Plut. in Solon.

flecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. Thus had Solon the glory, with one single word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Cræsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he was to believe himself in danger when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them: the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he dispatched messengers to Delphi, with orders to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding the numberless presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Cræsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind, in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that, let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians,\* they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and warned them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and the Persians had no shipping.

\* Herod. l. i. c. 141, 152, 153.

## ARTICLE II.

## THE HISTORY OF THE BESIEGING AND TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS.

CYRUS staid in Asia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection,\* from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the East that stood out against him.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

## SECTION I.—PREDICTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, AS THEY ARE SET DOWN IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended were foretold in the holy Scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

## I.—THE PREDICTION OF THE JEWISH CAPTIVITY AT BABYLON, AND OF THE TIME OF ITS DURATION.

God Almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity, which his people were to suffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and irretrievable destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. ‘And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.’ Jer. xxv. 11.

## 2.—THE CAUSES OF GOD’S WRATH AGAINST BABYLON.

That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. her insupportable pride; 2. her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and 3. the sacrilegious impiety of her king.

\* Herod. l. i. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186—188.



1. Her Pride.—She believed herself to be invincible. She said in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. Her Cruelty.—It is God himself that complains of it. I was willing (says he) to punish my people, as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them, as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have added to the paternal chastisement which I inflicted, such cruel and inhuman treatment as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy; mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shown no compassion or regard either to age, infirmity, or virtue.

3. The Sacrilegious Impiety of her King.—To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors Belshazzar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but fancied that he had vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply those holy vessels to profane uses. This was what completed the measure of God's wrath.

3.—THE DECREE PRONOUNCED AGAINST BABYLON—PREDICTION OF THE CALAMITIES THAT WERE TO FALL UPON HER, AND OF HER UTTER DESTRUCTION.

'Make bright the arrows, gather the shields,\* saith the prophet speaking to the Medes and Persians. 'The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.'

'Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand,†—a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate. Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land,‡ as I have punished the king of Assyria. §

'Shout against her round about.|| Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her:—and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host. Every one that is found shall be thrust through,¶ and every one that is joined to them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children. O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed,\*\* happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.'

\* Jer. li. 11.    † Isa. xiii. 6, 9.    ‡ Jer. l. 18.    § In the destruction of Nineveh.  
|| Jer. l. 15, 29. and li. 3.    ¶ Isa. xii. 15, 18.

\*\* Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9.



'And Babylon,\* the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces. I will also make it a possession for the bittern and pools of water;† and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.'

#### 4.—CYRUS CALLED TO DESTROY BABYLON, AND TO DELIVER THE JEWS.

Cyrus, whom the Divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the Scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the marvellous rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare, in very sublime and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed,‡ to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.'

#### 5.—GOD GIVES THE SIGNAL TO THE COMMANDERS, AND TO THE TROOPS, TO MARCH AGAINST BABYLON.

'Lift ye up a banner,' saith the Lord, 'upon the high mountain,' that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. 'Exalt the voice unto them' that are able to hear you. 'Shake the hand,' as a signal to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops 'go into the gate of the nobles,' into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go unto his tent, which is already set up.

'I have commanded my sanctified ones;' || I have given my orders to those whom I have sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It

\* Isa. xiii. 19, 22.

† Id. xiv. 23, 24.

‡ Id. xlv. 1—4.

§ Id. xiii. 2.

|| Id. xiii. 3.

is I that have placed upon the throne, that have made divers nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministration. 'I have called my mighty ones for mine anger.'\* I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: every thing gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, 'they rejoice in my happiness.' The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: Behold! they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already he cries out, 'The noise of a multitude in the mountains,† like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle: They come from a far country, from the end of heaven,‡ where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the sight of a formidable army, nor of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck: it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. 'It is even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.'

'A grievous vision is declared unto me:§ The impious Belshazzar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; 'the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth.' To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia; 'go up, O Elam:' And thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: 'Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease.' That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

#### 6.—CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, MINUTELY DETAILED.

There is nothing, methinks, better calculated to raise in us a profound reverence for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years; but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen that the army by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way which she did not at all expect: 'Therefore shall evil come upon thee: || thou shalt not know from whence it riseth.' She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she was

\* Lat. vers. 'in ira mea.' Heb. 'in iram meam.' † Isa. xiii. 4.

‡ Ibid. ver. 5.

§ Isa. xxi. 2.

|| Isa. xlvii. 11.

not able to foresee: 'Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.'\* In a word, she shall be taken, as it were in a net, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: 'I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.'†

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: 'O thou that dwellest upon many waters:‡ it is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus by a stratagem (of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since) shall turn the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: 'I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.§ A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up.' Cyrus shall take possession of the quays of the river; and the waters which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire: 'The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.¶

4. She shall be taken in the night time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at a table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: 'In their heat I will make their feasts,¶ and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith the Lord.' It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon; 'I have laid a snare for thee;\*\*\* who drieth up the waters of the river; 'I will dry up her sea;' and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes: 'I will make drunk her princes.'††

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: 'My loins are filled with pain;‡‡ pangs have taken hold upon me as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it: I was dismayed at the seeing of it; my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me.' This is the condition Belshazzar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon as it as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him that those characters imported the sentence of his death. 'Then (says the Scripture §§) the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.' The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Belshazzar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Belshazzar's consternation, the following words: 'Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.'¶¶ The prophet foresees, that Belshazzar,

\* Isa. xlvii. 11. † Jer. 1. 24. ‡ Id. li. 13. § Id. l. 38. and li. 36.  
|| Jer. li. 32. ¶ Id. li. 39. \*\* Ibid. †† Jer. li. 57.

‡‡ Isa. xxi. 3. 4. ||| Dan. v. 6. ¶¶ Isa. xxi. 5.



though dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirits, through the exhortations of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms; 'Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed.'\* They will exhort him therefore to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the sentinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recall that gaiety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table: 'Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.'

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his; 'Arise ye princes, and anoint the shield.†' It is God himself that commands the princes to advance to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, or buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered, when they are affrighted: 'And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up.'‡ The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors: because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: 'They shall every man turn to his people, and flee every one into his own land.'§

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shewn either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already noticed: the last circumstance, I say, which the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in the Scripture, in a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. 'But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch.|| Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people.' That king is justly forgotten, who has never remembered, that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and since he had no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others.

\* Dan. v. 10.

† Isa. xxi. 14.

‡ Isa. xlii. 14.

§ Ibid.

|| Isaiah xiv. 19, 20.



This is the sentence which God himself pronounceth against Belshazzar : and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers but the pleasing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. ‘ Prepare slaughter for his children,\* for the iniquity of their fathers ; that they do not rise nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord.’

## SECT. II.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

After having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to the impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the accomplishment of those prophecies, and to resume our narrative of the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed that in the city a great festival was to be celebrated ; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

Belshazzar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other,† and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. When flushed with wine, he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out ; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, at the same instant made him sensible who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised and frightened at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his diviners, and astrologers, that they might read the writings to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the characters.‡ It is probably in relation to this occurrence that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon that she shall be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, ‘ Stand now with thine enchantments, and with thy multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee.’—Is. xlvii. 12, 13.

The queen-mother (Nitocris, a princess of great merit), coming upon the noise of this great prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the mind of the king her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with

\* Isa. xiv. 21, 22.

† Dan. v. 1—29.

‡ The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuehadnezzar, and the flagrant abuse he made of his power,\* when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself empowered to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. 'And thou his son (says he to the king) hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knowest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, MENE,† TEKEL, UPHARSIN.‡ This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.' This interpretation, one would think, should have aggravated the consternation of the company; but they found means to dispel their fears, probably upon a persuasion that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their banquet, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

Cyrus,§ in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the guidance of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides the city, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two forementioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadatas, and advanced without meeting any obstacle. The invisible guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night subservient to his design, by leaving open the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the

\* 'Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.'—Dan. v. 19.

† These three words signify number, weight, division. ‡ Or. Peres.

§ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186 & 192.

city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it; and meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very worthy of attention, as they so perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of the impious Belshazzar.

[A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.]—The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions, which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the Scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or traces should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

### SECT. III.—THE COMPLETION OF THE PROPHECY WHICH FORETOLD THE TOTAL RUIN AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON.

This prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the xiii<sup>th</sup> chapter, from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 22<sup>d</sup> verses, and in the 23<sup>d</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> verses of the xiv<sup>th</sup> chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 298, &c. It is there declared that Babylon shall be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that the shepherd shall not come thither even to rest his flock; that it shall become a dwelling place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, so that no trace shall be left to show where Babylon had been. It is God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion to show how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

1. In the first place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place; and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

[A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.]—2. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to embellish or even repair it, but that moreover they built Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold—‘It shall not be inhabited.’ Its own masters endeavour to make it desolate.

3. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building Ctesiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that from the time the curse was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; and had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, though by indirect means, and without using any violence; that it might more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

4. She was so totally forsaken that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition she was reduced at the time when Pausanias\* [A. D. 96.] wrote his remarks upon Greece. ‘*Illa autem Babylon omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.*’—Paus. in Arcad. page 509.

5. The kings of Persia finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. ‘Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there,† and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces.’

[A. D. 400.]—St. Jerom has transmitted to us the following valuable remark which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he related to him:—‘*Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.*’—In cap. Isaiah, xiii. 22.

6. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which were to be subservient to the pleasure of the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after, its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way, so that in Theodoret’s time there was nothing more than a very little stream of water left, which ran across the ruins, and not meeting with a slope or free passage, naturally degenerated into a marsh.

In the time of Alexander the Great,‡ the river had quitted its ordinary

\* He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian.

† Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

‡ Arrian. de exped. Alex. li. viii.



channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these outlets being badly stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon ('I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant,')<sup>\*</sup> defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon, being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: 'I will make it pools of water.'<sup>†</sup> And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

7. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled: 'I will cut off from Babylon the name—I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.'<sup>‡</sup> I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every trace of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, the Lord, have abolished. 'I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.'

8. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. 'The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.'<sup>§</sup> But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world: it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the saints and the reprobate. The Scriptures that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. 'The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, As I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.'

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.

\* Isa. xiv. 32.    † Id. xiv. 23.    ‡ Id. I. xiv. 23.    § Id. xiv. 24.

# SECT. IV.—WHAT FOLLOWED UPON THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

Cyrus having entered the city in the manner we have described,\* put all to the sword that were found in the streets: he then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison which kept the citadel being apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was, to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. After which he represented to them,† that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and for that purpose, to take a particular care to give their children a good education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further advances in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples: nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons,‡ according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not remain idle in the midst of all this motion, but was

\* Cyrop. l. vii. p. 192.    † Page 197, 209.    ‡ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 202.

as it were the soul to the body of the state; which by this means he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.

When he afterwards sent governors, called satrapæ,\* into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to be dependent upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; in order that, if any of these satrapæ, elate with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting of any one man with absolute power, well knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, if all others are thereby abased and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity,† who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful. He was sensible that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners; but, in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people. Nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: he was also persuaded, that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to say any thing before them contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. ‘I have prodigious riches (says he to his courtiers) I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, even if I desired it. No: the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities.’

Cræsus one day represented to him,‡ that by continual largesses he would at last make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. ‘And to what sum (replied Cyrus) do you think those treasures might have amounted?’ Cræsus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a short note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Cræsus had mentioned. ‘Look here (says Cyrus to him), here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affection of my subjects.’

\* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229.    † Id. l. viii. p. 209.    ‡ Id. l. viii. p. 210.

But much as he esteemed liberality, he laid a still greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability, and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this therefore he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of Magi, to sing daily a morning service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

Cyrus being resolved to establish his chief residence at Babylon,\* a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined therefore to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but such persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by every consideration to attach themselves solely to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they possessed either wealth or consequence. Cyrus therefore intrusted all the offices of his household to eunuchs: and this practice, which was not unknown before his time, from thenceforth became the general custom of all the eastern countries.

It is well known, that in after times it prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to intrust them also with the management of some

\* Cyrop. lib. vii. p. 196.



public business, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy having got possession of their masters' minds and confidence, they came to possess great influence at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities in the state.

But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus,\* held the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons whose sole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to conceal the knowledge of public business as much as possible from him, to preclude access to him from any person of real merit, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him: '*Claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*'

When Cyrus had established his regulations in every thing relating to the government,† he resolved to show himself publicly to his own people, and to his newly-conquered subjects, in a solemn, august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect towards himself, not only by the attractions of virtue (says the historian), but by such an external pomp as was calculated to attract the multitude, and worked like a charm or enchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a dress after the Median fashion; that is to say, long robes, which hung down to the feet. These were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes,‡ and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more sparkling, and in painting their faces, in order to enliven their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and the other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses that

\* Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever. † Cyrop. l. viii. p. 213, 220.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii.

were to be sacrificed to the Sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire on a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with a royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat his master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the height of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march: the other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed two hundred led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four abreast, closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of Syria.\*

In order to afford the people some recreation after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot-races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about five stadia,† and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete a horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of procession continued a long time afterwards amongst the

\* Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Assyria.

† A little above half a mile.

Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

Some days after,\* Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all the chief officers, as well foreigners as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present : so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude : and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms, he did not think it derogatory to his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

### ARTICLE III.

#### THE HISTORY OF CYRUS, FROM THE TAKING OF BABYLON TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

CYRUS finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life ; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of this high station.

#### SECT. I.—CYRUS TAKES A JOURNEY INTO PERSIA. AT HIS RETURN FROM THENCE TO BABYLON, HE FORMS A PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE. DANIEL'S CREDIT AND POWER.

When Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon,† he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither ; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in co-partnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. [A.M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.] Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. It is Cyaxares who is called in Scripture Darius the Mede ; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into a hundred and

\* Cyrop. lib. viii. p. 220—224.

† Idem lib. viii. p. 227.

twenty provinces.\* And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition,† Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the couriers, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible dispatch. The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most,‡ and rendered him the greatest service in the war. Over these governors were appointed three superintendents,§ who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the affairs of the whole empire. Of these three Daniel was made the chief. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had been displayed in a distinguished manner at Belshazzar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age and consummate experience; for at that time it was full sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nabuchodonosor, that he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

As this distinction made him the second person in the empire,|| and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

Towards the end of the same year,¶ which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, prayed earnestly to God that he would vouchsafe to remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance, much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to elapse from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years; for, taking each day for a year, according to the language used sometimes in Holy Scripture, those seventy weeks of years made up exactly four hundred and ninety years.

\* Dan. vi. 1. † Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

‡ Ibid. l. viii. p. 230.

§ Dan. vi. 2, 3. || Ibid. vi. 4—27.

¶ Ibid. ix. 1—27.



Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon,\* had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, of two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with so many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Æthiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole East.

## SECT. II.—THE BEGINNING OF THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES. THE FAMOUS EDICT OF CYRUS. DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

Here, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the first three kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

[A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536.]—Cyrus. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyzes likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire.

The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently.† Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyzes, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who possessed great influence at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he showed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah,‡ wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name as a prince appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and at the same time to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judæa to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be

\* Cyrop. l. viii. 233. † Cic. l. i. de Div. n. 46. ‡ Isa. c. xlv. and xlv.

presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of glorious vicories and success :—

‘ In the first year of Cyrus,\* king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the true God), which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem.’

Cyrus at the same time restored to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

The Samaritans, who had long been the declared enemies of the Jews,† did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus’s decree, yet they so far prevailed by bribes and underhand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, as to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

[A. M. 3470. Ant. J. C. 534.]—It seems to have been through grief at seeing the execution of this decree so long retarded,‡ that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter,§ we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after; and indeed his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives; and some suppose him to have been eighteen years of age at that time: from that early age he had given proofs of wisdom, more than human, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much esteemed by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel’s wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Jo-

\* Ezra, i. 1—4.

+ Ibid. iv. 1—5.

‡ Dan. x. 1—3.

§ But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days. Dan. xii. 13.

sephus\* speaks of a famous edifice built by him at Susa,† in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, finished with such wonderful art that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to the time of Josephus. It was a common tradition in those parts, for many ages, that Daniel died in that city,‡ and there they show his monument even to this day. It is certain that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us, that ‘ he did the king’s business there,’§ that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

#### REFLECTIONS UPON DANIEL’S PROPHECIES.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar,|| and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known the matter happened exactly according to Daniel’s prediction: the king himself relates it in a declaration addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as having been sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full of both Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of such importance, and so injurious to the king, the falsehood of which must have been notorious to all the world?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which designate the succession of the four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject matter of this work, which is no other than the history of those very empires.

The first of these prophecies has reference to the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had,¶ of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beaten as small as dust by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already recited at large.

About fifty years after,\*\* the same Daniel saw another vision very like that which I have just been speaking of: this was the vision of the four large beasts which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle’s wings; the second was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. From the midst of the ten

\* Antiq. l. x. cap. 12. † So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerom, who relates the same fact; Comm. in Dan. viii. 2, and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus. ‡ Now called Tuster.

§ Dan. viii. 27.

|| Ibid. iv.

¶ Dan. ii.

\*\* This was the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon. Dan. vii.

horns which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed that the different metals of which the image was composed, and the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the Romans.\* This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a supernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases?†

In the following chapter‡ this prophet speaks with still greater clearness and precision; for after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner:—The ram, which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat, which overthroweth and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that 'he touched not the ground?' How did he learn that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover that Alexander would have no son§ to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his successors would be of his nation, but

\* Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, substitute the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

† He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings. He revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him.—Dan. ii. 21, 22.

‡ Dan. chap. viii.

§ And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion; and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled.—Dan. xi. 3, 4. Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.—Dan. viii. 22.



not of his blood ; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north ?

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign,\* foretel that the fourth of Cyrus's successors† should gather together all his forces to attack the Grecian states ? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the time of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews ; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem ; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein ; and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it ? How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire,‡ foretel the wars which Alexander's successors would wage with one another in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties, and their alliances by marriage, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs ?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel ; so clear and express that Porphyry,§ a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them than by pretending that they were written after the events, and were rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former, every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors ! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as of their founders or governors !

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been its striking characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The design of his reign is to save mankind : to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just per-

\* Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all ; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.—Dan. xi. 2.

† Xerxes. ‡ Dan. xi. 5—15. § S. Hieron. in *Prœm. ad Com. in Dan.*

sons, who may all of them be so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only that the whole world doth subsist; and when the number of them shall be complete, 'Then (says St. Paul\*) cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God; even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power.'

Can a writer, who sees in the prophecies of Daniel that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted during the time determined for them by the sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ; can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others?

### SECT. III.—THE LAST YEARS OF CYRUS. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

Let us return to Cyrus.† Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Ægean sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter season, because of the warmth of that climate: three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, for the seventh time after his accession to the whole monarchy: and this shows that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyses had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had elapsed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of the sober and temperate life which he had constantly led. And whereas they, who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilst they are young; Cyrus, on the contrary, at a very advanced age, still enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and, after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support

\* 1 Cor. xv. 24.

† Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233, &c.

of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches; but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. 'I conjure you, therefore,' said he, 'my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you mean to retain any desire to please me in future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant: you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons, I could never imagine, that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon a great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. As to my body, my sons, when life has forsaken it, inclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatsoever. Restore it immediately to the earth. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated, with the benefactress and common mother of human kind?' After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: 'Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy: carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace.' After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people. [A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.]

The orders given by Cyrus to restore his body to the earth, is, in my opinion, worthy of observation. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if inclosed in gold or silver. Restore it to the earth, says he. Where did that prince learn that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

#### CHARACTER AND EULOGY OF CYRUS.

Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince, mentioned in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art, as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and equal steadiness and prudence for executing, the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make



a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean actions they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and even odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the slightest matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanor, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a reason assigned at the same time that a command is given, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others: for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing is more interesting than to see in Xenophon the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command to tell him whatever they thought.\* And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make some change in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus,† who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: ‘*Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferret, inimicus.*’

Cicero observes,‡ that during the whole time of Cyrus’s government, \* Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 694. † Hist. l. i. c. 26. ‡ Lib. i. Epist. 2. ad Q. fratrem.



he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: 'Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.' What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure as that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his stedfast persuasion that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages,\* luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant, indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and to secure to them tranquillity and plenty.† He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd‡ (the image under which both sacred and prophane antiquity represented good kings); and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. 'It is his duty (says he) to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to burden himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person for their defence and protection. This (says he) is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock.'

Indeed, to be the guardian of the commonwealth and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is, not to be long to themselves: the very characteristic of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these derogatory to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus succeeded in founding such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for many years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but

\* Cyrop. l. i. p. 27.

† Ibid. l. viii. p. 210.

‡ "Thou shalt feed my people," said God to David. 2 Sam. v. 2. Ποιμένα λαών, Homer, in many places.

by all the nations he had conquered ; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not to be surprised that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue (it will easily be understood that I speak only of pagan virtues) because we know it was God himself who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, nor that he immediately made him such, as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy disposition, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all he took care that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to the mode in which he was educated, which confounding him, in some sort, with the rest of the subjects, and keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride which is so natural to princes ; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command ; inured him to hardship and toil ; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety ; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this ; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation :—That all good kings are the gift of God alone, and that such a gift includes many others ; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity ; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance to that of Cyrus. ‘ *Nullum est præstabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam castus, et sanctus, et Deo simillimus princeps.*’\*

When I narrowly examine this hero’s life, there seems to me to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden reverse of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity ; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter :—‘ *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti ; secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.*’† And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon the soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear

\* Paneg. Traj.

† Tac. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.

up against the burden ; whereas prosperity attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle :—‘ *Quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*’

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince’s glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity ; a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without ; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune ; an intrepidity of soul which is animated at the sight of danger ; a fruitfulness in expedients improving even from crosses and disappointments ; a presence of mind which views and provides against every thing ; and, lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us,\* that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident ; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired ; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the apprehension of the changes and misfortunes that might happen : and this prudent fear was not only a preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examined, of great importance in appreciating this prince’s reputation and character, upon which, however, I shall touch but lightly ; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests. For if these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked only among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind, who acknowledged no right but that of force ; who looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings ; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions than their incapacity of carrying them to an equal extent with their wishes ; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition ; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like an inundation or a conflagration ; and who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes whom the world admires ; and by such ideas as these we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many deceived by false images of grandeur.

I do not know whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus ; but he

\* *Cyrop.* l. viii. p. 234.



seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings; but he certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, in which whoever unseasonably engages, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now every war is of this sort to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

Cyrus, as we have seen,\* at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Cræsus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the Lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all Upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.

With good reason therefore is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which cannot be such, unless justice is the basis and foundation of it: 'Cyrus a Xenophonte scriptus ad justī effigiem imperii.'†

#### SECT. IV.—WHEREIN HERODOTUS AND XENOPHON DIFFER IN THEIR ACCOUNTS OF CYRUS.

Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what may be considered as the ground-work and most essential part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

He tells us,‡ as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyses. This daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards recognized by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast,

\* Cyrop. l. i. 25. † Cic. l. i. Epist. 1, ad Q. fratrem.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 107—130. Justin. l. i. c. 4, 6.



and caused him to feed on the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, defeated him in a battle, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror.\* This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle, pretended to fly, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drunk largely and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering 'Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words—'Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable.'†

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of a history. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid by a woman for him? What the same historian relates‡ concerning his impetuosity and passion, and his childish revenge upon the river,§ in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, whose distinguishing characteristic was mildness and moderation. Besides, is it at all probable|| that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time, when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon is the conformity we find between his narrative and the Holy Scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes (as Herodotus relates) those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

\* Herod. l. i. c. 205—214. Justin. l. i. c. 8.

† Satia te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.—Justin. l. i. c. 8.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 189.

§ Gyndes.

|| Sen. l. iii. 3. de Ira, c. 21.

From whence then could so great a difference between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time, those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and readily gave credit to them. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and less credulous; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES.

[A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.]—As soon as Cambyses ascended the throne,\* he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis; but it is more probable that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success,† made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks, in the service of Amasis, and being some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyses, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories bordered upon Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march through the desert that lay between those two countries; which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyses could never have marched his army that way.

Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign.‡ When he arrived upon the frontiers he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place that in all likelihood it must have stopped him a great while. But according to Polyænus, to facilitate the capture of this city, Cambyses invented the following stratagem.§ Being in-

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 1—3.

† Ibid. c. 4—9.

‡ Ibid. l. iii. c. 10.

§ Polyæn. l. vii.

formed that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyses became master of the place without opposition.

When Cambyses had got possession of the city,\* Psammenitus advanced with a great army, to stop his progress; and a fierce battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks who were in Psammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, and in the presence of the two armies cut their throats, and drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrible a spectacle, fell upon them with such fury, that they quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greatest part were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.

On occasion of this battle Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance,† of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that they might be pierced through with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.

Cambyes, having pursued the runaways to Memphis,‡ sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyes, having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the highest rank, as there had been persons massacred in the vessel, to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyes was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, endeavoured to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months, after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success, the Libyans, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyes, to make their submission.

From Memphis he went to the city of Sais,§ which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 11.

† Ibid. l. iii. c. 12.

‡ Cap. 13.

§ Cap. 16.



into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage which this prince testified against the dead body of Amasis, shows to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives that induced Cambyses to carry his arms into Egypt.

The next year,\* which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different quarters; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Æthiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to aid him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

But, being determined to invade the other two nations,† he sent ambassadors into Æthiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, and to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents, amongst which there was nothing useful, or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Æthiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, that is, for spies. However, the king of Æthiopia was willing, after his way, to make a present to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he bent it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: “This is the present and the counsel the king of Æthiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this bigness and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let them come to attack the Æthiopians, and bring more troops with them than Cambyses is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put into the hearts of the Æthiopians a wish to extend their dominions beyond their own country.”

This answer having enraged Cambyses,‡ he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions nor any thing necessary for such an expedition; but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

As soon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt,§ he detached fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was situated there. But after several days' march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed and buried under it.

In the mean time, Cambyses marched forwards like a madman against the Æthiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions; which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil; but Cambyses would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 17, 19. † Cap. 20—24. ‡ Cap. 25. § Cap. 25, 26.



therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees; but, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions; a food, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: '*Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame sævius.*'\* Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid of his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and the camels were still reserved which were loaded with every thing that was requisite to set out a sumptuous table. '*Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.*'†

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes; where he succeeded much better in the war he declared against the gods,‡ whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, where riches and magnificence were almost incredible. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The wealth of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains saved from [the flames amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king Osymandias,§ which was three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

From Thebes he went back to Memphis,|| where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes; but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing this exultation to be on account of the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. He then sent for the priests, who made him the same answer: upon which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But when, instead of a god, he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, he ordered them to be severely scourged, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.

\* De Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

† Ibid.

‡ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43.

§ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 46.

|| Herod. l. iii. c. 27—29.

The Egyptians say,\* that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyses grew mad. But his actions shewed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.

He had a brother,† the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which had been brought from the king of Æthiopia, Cambyses from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that a messenger had arrived to inform him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the kingdom, and sent after him into Persia Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which were accordingly executed.

This murder was the cause of another still more criminal.‡ Cambyses had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner this sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyses absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges being unwilling on one hand directly to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a salvo, and gave him this crafty answer:—That they had no law which permitted a brother to marry his sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. And this answer serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This princess he carried with him in all his expeditions, and from her he gave the name of Meroe to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Æthiopia, for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Æthiopians. The circumstance that gave occasion to his murdering this princess was as follows:—One day Cambyses was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This incident highly delighted Cambyses, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a

\* Herod. l. iii. cap. 30.

† Ibid.

‡ Cap. 31, 32.

blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better an end.

He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive,\* and daily sacrificed some one or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and his chief confidant, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. 'They admire, Sir,' says Prexaspes, 'a great many excellent qualities which they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine.'—'I understand you,' replied the king, 'that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason. You shall be judge of that immediately.' Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing Prexaspes the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him, in an exulting and scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, 'Apollo himself could not have shot better.' Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father:—'*Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.*'

When Cræsus took upon him to advise Cambyses against his conduct,† which disgusted every one, and laid before him the ill consequences that might result from it, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Cræsus was alive.

It was about this time that Oretes, one of Cambyses's satrapæ, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

This Polycrates was a prince, who through the whole course of his life had been uniformly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment or unfortunate accident to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. He declared to him, that he had alarming misapprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected; that some malignant, invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly, sooner or later, bring ruin and destruction upon him; that, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself, by some volun-

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 14. † Herod. l. iii. c. 36.



tary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed this advice. Having an emerald ring, which he highly esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary size, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He writ another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that, to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange whimsical notion this! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title, destitute of all substance and reality.

Be that as it will, the thing, however, did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended.\* Some years after, about the time Cambyzes fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another satrap had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious for his master; upon this resolved at any rate to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this:—He wrote to Polycrates that, in consequence of information, upon which he could depend, that Cambyzes intended to destroy him by assassination, he designed to withdraw to Samos, and there to secure his treasure and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time make him a present of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a project he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. Oretes had caused eight large chests to be filled with stones almost to the top, but had covered the stones with pieces of gold coin. These chests were packed up, and appeared ready to be sent on board ship: but they were opened before the messenger, on his arrival, and he supposed that they were filled with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends, and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged; in such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 120—125.



Cambyses, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign,\* left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria he found a herald there, sent from Susa to the army to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, had been proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in the following manner :—Cambyses, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyses indulged his extravagance to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus: and immediately dispatched heralds into all parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

Cambyses caused the herald that came with these orders into Syria to be arrested;† and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother, and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But, as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, considered this accident as a just judgment from heaven, which thus avenged the sacrilegious impiety of Cambyses.

While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Buto,‡ which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana: understanding this of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking that he said all this merely out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. In Scripture he is

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 61.    † Ibid. c. 62—64.    ‡ Ibid. c. 64—66.

called Ahasuerus.\* When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made an application directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of the temple; and their application was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements under which he laid the Jews; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

[A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522.]—This prince is called in Scripture Artaxerxes. He reigned little more than seven months. As soon as he was settled on the throne, by the death of Cambyses, the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him,† setting forth what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king, prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him, that the imposture should not be discovered, affected from the very beginning of his reign never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intervention of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate confidants to his presence.

And the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped,‡ he studied from his first accession to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by most of the nations of Asia, except the Persians, on the revolution that happened soon afterwards.

But these very precautions§ which he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter to know of her whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered that, having never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then by a second message desired her to inquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother), whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him that the present king, be he who he might, from the first day of his accession to the throne, had lodged his wives in separate apartments, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he

\* Ezra, iv. 4, 6. † Ibid. iv. 7, 14. ‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 67. § Cap. 69.

had any ears or not. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her that if the person she lay with was Smerdis the Magian, he was unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to, and finding the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility;\* and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia,† coming very seasonably as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.

While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence,‡ of which they had not the least expectation, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis the son of Cyrus. When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis the son of Cyrus, by Cambyzes' order; that the person who now possessed the throne was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

The conspirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened,§ were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected. For the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But when they came near the king's apartment, and found the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their scymitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis the Magian and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark, Darius was afraid to strike, lest at the same time he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 70—73.

† The province so called.

‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 74, 75.

§ Cap. 76—78.



In the same instant,\* with their hands all smeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patisithes to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this the people grew so enraged that they fell upon the whole sect to which the usurper belonged, and slew as many of them as they could find. For which reason the day on which this was done thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called 'The slaughter of the Magi;' nor durst any of that sect appear in public upon that festival.

When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appeased,† the lords who had slain the usurper entered into consultation amongst themselves what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniencies to which that form of government was liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded by declaring for a popular government. Megabyzus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion.—'A king (said he) at least knows what he does; but the people neither know nor hear any thing, and blindly give themselves up to those that know how to manage them.' He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconveniencies of an aristocracy, otherwise called an oligarchy; wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, the natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder; for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to the authority of one man; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous; inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations. 'In short (said he), to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the present greatness of the Persian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?' Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords; and they resolved that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

The next question was to know which of them should be king,‡ and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning by sun-rising, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and that he whose horse first neighed should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 79.

† Cap. 80—83.

‡ Cap. 84—87.



crown for his master. The night before he carried a mare to the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, than he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords,\* they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were allowed to deliver their opinions the first. And whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forwards the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS,  
LYDIANS, MEDES, AND PERSIANS.

I SHALL give in this place an account of the manners and customs of all these several nations conjointly, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and moreover, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads:—1. Their government; 2. Their art of war; 3. Their arts and sciences; and, 4. Their religion; after which I shall narrate the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

## ARTICLE I.

OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

After a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these four things:—Their public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of the provinces; and the good order observed in their finances.

SECT. I.—THEIR MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT.  
THE RESPECT THEY PAID THEIR KINGS. THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.

Monarchical, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87.

peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons the wisest writers 'among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have been induced to prefer decidedly this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that was ever established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne,\* because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicegerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the supreme Governor of the world, and invested with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: 'Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungatur.'†

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power; because it cometh from God, and is appointed entirely for the good of the public; besides, it is evident, that an authority which is not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism this honour and homage, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within due bounds in this point. We honour the emperor, said Tertullian, in the name of all the Christians; but in such a manner as is lawful for us and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls the emperor in another place a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first:— 'Religio secundæ majestatis.'‡

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, 'The great king, the king of kings.' Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title: the one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head; the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court or dependent upon them.

The crown was hereditary among them,§ descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicings; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual festival, and day of solemnity for all the Persians.

The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato,|| and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition; but from among the eunuchs,

\* Plin. in Themist. p. 125. Ad Princ. indoc. p. 780. † Plin. in Paneg. Trag. ‡ Apolog. c. 35. § Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 121. || Ibid.

that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to suffer himself to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures; that for a superior strength of mind, and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was well calculated to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of officers that waited upon him with a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention; dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the prevailing pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe, that



he was more attentive than his predecessors to the education of his children ; but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

## SECT. II.—THE PUBLIC COUNCIL WHEREIN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE WERE CONSIDERED.

Absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state ; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished by their wisdom and abilities than by their illustrious birth. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis the Magian and killed him.

The Scripture observes that Ezra was sent into Judæa, in the name, and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors :—  
‘ Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellors.’\*

The same Scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state ; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance without their advice. ‘ Interrogavit (Assuerus) sapientes, qui ex more regio ei semper aderant, et illorum faciebat cuncta consilio, scientium leges ac jura majorum.’†

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving of praise, on account of his wisdom and prudence, though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of advice ; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding ; by which proceeding he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and implies a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents and a narrow capacity is generally full of himself ; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is : he thinks it want of respect to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive ; and is affronted if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice :—‘ Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.’

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he impaired or degraded it

\* Ezra, vii. 14. † Esth. i. 13, according to the Vulgate translation.



when he instituted that council ; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to govern by the laws ; to make them the rule of his will and desire ; and to think nothing allowable for him which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king ('*ex more regio semper ei aderant*'), was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men and the best heads in the kingdom ; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. To this council the king transferred from himself several weighty cares, with which he must otherwise have been overburdened ; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council that the great maxims of the state were preserved ; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated ; affairs carried on with harmony and order ; and innovations, errors, and oversights, prevented. For in a public and general council things are discussed by unsuspected persons ; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another ; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together ; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration ; because, though as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in Scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom, '*Scientium leges ac jura majorum.*'

Two things, which, as the Scriptures inform us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. The first was, their having public registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded. The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly and circumstantially entered. These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past ; might have a clear idea of the state of the kingdom ; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct ; maintain an uniformity in the conduct of affairs ; and, in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

### SECT. III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. 'God hath made you king over his people (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon) to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them.' God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His design in making them independent was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any persons whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath intrusted to the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries? Why, it is nothing else but order; and order consists in observing an universal equity, and taking care that force do not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common ties of society be not broken; that artifice and fraud do not prevail over innocence and simplicity; that all things rest in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakest among the people find sanctuary in the public authority.

We learn from Josephus\* that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the same manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others; but to be assisted, is not to be deprived, or dispossessed. He continues judge as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of passing sentence with precision, upon important points. For this reason the kings of Persia never ascended the throne till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science, whereof they were the only masters and professors, as well as of the religion of the country.

Now since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice, and that within his dominions there is no other power of administering it than what is delegated by him, how greatly does it behove

\* Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so valuable a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne are worthy to partake of his prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it as he judges unworthy of that privilege! We find that in Persia their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. One of their royal judges (for so they called them) having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe, was condemned by Cambyzes to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place whence he gave judgment should remind him continually of his duty.\*

Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men,† into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which decided upon the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.

Amongst them it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, nor for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender, as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice; nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. Upon this principle it was that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both to the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, and acknowledged that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means, necessary for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge; and in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser as the other was to have suffered had he been found guilty. Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions.‡ One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great influence he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to bar up from the innocent all access

\* Herod. l. v. c. 25.      † Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.

‡ Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.



to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king did so, and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial; and all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. The prince, who was well informed, and knew that one of the true signs of a wise government is to have the subjects stand more in fear of the laws than of informers, would have thought that to act otherwise than he did, would have been a direct violation of the most common rules of natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming the latter with the sword of public authority; in a word it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, that of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

There is upon record\* a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes; in him I mean whom the Scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him, but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error, which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure to them both the more respect. After declaring that it is too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others, he is not ashamed to acknowledge that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, to whose goodness he and his ancestors were indebted for the throne.

The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown, but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongst them a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, as it tends to make people liars.

#### SECT. IV.—THE CARE OF THE PROVINCES.

It seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is

\* Esth. c. iii. &c.



closely inspected, and the very sight of the throne capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanors on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care, and, we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into 127 governments,\* the governors whereof were called satrapæ. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These satrapæ were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them, nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These satrapæ being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportioned to their station and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and that for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he desired they should be likewise to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the satrapæ, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and chose that the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, should depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their instructions, in order that, if the satrapæ were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And to make this correspondence by letters the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful dispatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of the section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

The care of the provinces, however, was not entirely left to the satrapæ and governors; the king himself took cognizance of them in his own

\* Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces.—Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229, 232.

person, being persuaded that the governing only by others is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning when he awakened him:—‘Rise, Sir, and think of discharging the duties for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne.’\* Oromasdes was the principal god, anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch in relating this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time personally to visit all the provinces of his empire; being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; to reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities; to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the severity of power, as by the authority of reason; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity; in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influences universally, or rather, like a kind of divinity, to be present every where, to see, to hear, and inspect every thing, without rejecting any man’s petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent in his stead some of the great men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these, or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, when he went his progress in person, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shows how well they understood in those days wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not employed upon great objects alone, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the repairs of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for

\* Plut. ad Princ. induct. p. 750.

the commonweal is universal. It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing: it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

I have already said,\* that agriculture was one of the principal objects on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was, to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of government, so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. For these two employments had a near relation; the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection; because both concurred, and were equally necessary for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security, so neither can the soldiers on the other hand be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and district was cultivated; that he might know, whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the superintendants and overseers, whose provinces or districts were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who suffered their grounds to lie barren or untillied. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.

Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment of all others the most worthy of man, the most ancient, and the most suitable to his nature; as the common nurse of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, exclaimed, that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour,

\* Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827—830.



and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure and so conformable to right reason. ‘Cum Cyrus respondisset, Ego, ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ: tum Lysandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis; ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: \* Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est.’ How much is it to be wished, that our young nobility, who in the time of peace do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality; especially if they would consider, that for several ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive that I mean the ancient Romans.

#### THE INVENTION OF POSTS AND COURIERS.

I promised to give some account in this place of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus; † nor, indeed, can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after his last conquest, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to enable himself to receive speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and to send his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed, in every province. Having computed how far a good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed: nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the season, interrupt its progress. Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes. ‡

These couriers were called in the Persian language, ἄγγαροι. § The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. Darius, the last of the Persian kings, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted still in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

\* Cic. de senect. num. 59.

† Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

‡ Her. l. viii. c. 98. § ἄγγαροι is derived from a word which, in that language, signifies a service rendered by compulsion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb ἀγγαρεύειν, compellere, cogere: and the Latins, angariare. According to Suidas they were likewise called astendæ.



We are justly surprised to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the East by Cyrus, and continued for so many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering of what usefulness it was to the government, should never have been imitated in the West, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and the Romans.

It is more astonishing, that, where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds; by forwarding the affairs of private persons; the dispatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of any affairs together; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country, whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expense; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it: the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all the provinces, and even from the neighbouring kingdoms, did, for their sakes and conveniency, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets for the public, as well as the university.

In the university registers of the Four Nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled '*Nuntii volantes*,' to signify the great speed and dispatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter carriers. And it was at her own charge and expense that she erected these offices; to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has moreover maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund or support than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue that king Louis XV., now on the throne, by his decree of the council of state, of the 14th of April, 1719, and by his letters patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught gratis; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres or thereabouts.\*

It is not therefore without reason that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, reckons Louis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble disinterested spirit which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of master and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. '*Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*'†

#### SECT. V.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES.

The prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him are the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But to enable him to defend it, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expenses. It is moreover just and reasonable that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of the empire; as also to enable him to insure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expenses of the state, have been the first causes of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions; since every private person ought to think himself very happy that he can purchase his peace and security at the expense of so slender a contribution.

The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in the levying of taxes imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. Strabo relates‡ that the satrap of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts. By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the several provinces. The tributes, however, were only exacted from the conquered nations; for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the sums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time, the pecuniary impositions, as

\* About £ 8,500 sterling. † Quintil. l. xii. c. 7. ‡ Herod. l. xi. p. 530.

near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near forty-four millions French money.\*

The place wherein was kept the public treasure was called in the Persian language 'Gaza.' There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargada, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians, was of gold, and called 'Darick,' from the name of Darius,† who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side and an archer on the reverse. The Darick is sometimes also called 'Stater aureus,' because the weight of it, like that of the 'Attic Stater,' was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

Besides these tributes which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provisions for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessities for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the re-mounting his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the six-score satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two-thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject, we see the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money, without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to render the taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble, as well as expence, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

There were likewise certain districts assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments; and these districts, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; these districts, I say, took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and so on. In Plato's time the same custom continued among the Persians.

\* About two millions sterling.

† Darius the Mede, otherwise called *Cyaxares*, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined.



The manner in which the king gave pensions in those days to such persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queen. We read that the king of Persia assigned the revenues of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture. Before that time Cyrus had acted in the same manner towards Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of seven cities. In following times we find many instances of a like nature.

## ARTICLE II.

### OF THEIR WAR.

The people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they suffered themselves to be enervated by luxury and pleasure. I must however except the Persians, who even before Cyrus, and still more during his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a point of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, whatever perfection and excellence may be found in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shown in the sequel.

#### I. THEIR ENTRANCE UPON MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

The Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years,\* by passing through different exercises. Generally speaking, they served in the armies from the age of twenty to fifty years; and whether in peace or war they always wore swords, as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to enlist themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes to two young noblemen,† whose fathers had desired as a favour that their sons might be permitted to stay at home for a comfort to them in their old age.

Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard,‡ who were called 'The Immortals,' because this body consisted always of the same number, which was ten thousand; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The establishment of

\* Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. sub finem.

† Herod. l. iv. and vi. Sen. de Ira. l. iii. c. 16 et 17. ‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 83.



this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard: They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their courage. Quintus Curtius mentions also this body of men,\* and another body besides, consisting of fifteen thousand, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called Doryphori, or Spearmen.

## II. THEIR ARMOUR.

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scymitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half pike, having a sharp-pointed iron at the end.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to sling, and the other to use in close fight. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they call *tiaras*; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, and of his army.† And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that this custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or greaves which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, chests, and flanks, covered with brass. These were what are called 'equi cataphracti,' barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of the shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones; made only of twigs of osier, 'gerra.' But it appears from several passages that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers and those who used missile weapons, composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

## III. CHARIOTS ARMED WITH SCYTHES.

Cyrus introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war.‡ These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast,

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 3. + Xen. de exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263.

‡ Xen. Cyrop. l. vi. p. 152.

with two men in each ; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and another who was engaged only in driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service ; since for the equipping of three hundred chariots were required twelve hundred horses and six hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting men that rode in them, by enabling the drivers also to fight as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken ; and the axletrees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axletrees he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally ; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axletree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men, or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. It appears from several passages in authors,\* that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way ; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the Eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain cause of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all other to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the inconveniences of them were discovered, and at length they were laid aside. For, in order to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast and extensive plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gullies, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances upon them, and at the same time fall a shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses, and often made them turn upon their own forces. At other times they would render the chariots useless and incapable of acting, only by marching over the space which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner that the Romans under Sylla at the battle of Chæroneæ, defeated

\* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

and put to flight the enemy's charlots, raising loud peals of laughter, and crying out to them, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, to send more.

#### IV. THEIR DISCIPLINE IN PEACE AS WELL AS WAR.

Nothing can be imagined more perfect than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The method used by that great prince in peace, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops, by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards; all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers, and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies and the approach of enemies infinitely sharpen and excite. A wise foresight of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever may be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle; not a soldier or officer dared to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all the nations of Asia, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches;\* though sometimes they fortified them with strong pallisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and in the marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of that which was preserved on a day of battle. Nothing can be more deserving our admiration than the accounts we have of it in several parts of the *Cyropædia*. No single family could be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his injunctions, and softened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himself of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle

\* Diod. l. i. p. 24, 25.



them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and, above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true and only methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in its full force and vigour.

#### V. THEIR ORDER OF BATTLE.

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else but field expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to decide a victory than a numerous and good cavalry; and the gaining of one single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see that, having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and, by his great application and activity, succeeded in forming a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness at least, if not in number. There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media;\* but in the latter province those of a place called Nisea were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended either in the use of arms, or the disposition of armies.

They knew that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves, as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, as one single line might easily be pierced through and broken, it would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, twelve men deep,† who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords or scymitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 530.

† Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.



mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force; but, in after-time, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men armed in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had besides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops, when they were driven back by the enemy; and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use too of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them they occasionally stationed on the flanks of the army, when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

This is nearly the extent to which the ancients carried their knowledge in the military art, with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable spot, of bringing the war into a close country; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; or laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains; and by that means of making the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and of putting it out of the enemy's power to surround or take them in flank.

Yet in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seem to have been some beginnings, some essays, as it were, of this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience, made the great commanders in after-ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war; and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations, made of them.

#### VI. THEIR MANNER OF ATTACKING AND DEFENDING STRONG PLACES.

The ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and the variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

**I. THEIR WAY OF ATTACKING PLACES.**—The first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms; or else they thought it sufficient to surround it completely by a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with palisadoes, to hinder the

besieged from making a sally, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related in ancient history; as that of Troy,\* which lasted ten years; that of Azotus by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty-nine; that of Nineveh, where we have seen that Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers where-with they were flanked still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts, and this was by building moving towers of wood still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with those wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who, with darts, and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of drawbridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it; which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. Of these there were several kinds.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways: that is, either by carrying on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so opening themselves a passage into it; or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, by filling the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then setting that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

**2. THEIR MANNER OF DEFENDING PLACES.**—With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made deep and sloping ditches, and fenced them round with pallisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them

\* Homer makes no mention of the battering-ram, or any warlike engine.

should be equally impracticable ; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derive their origin, for the flanking of the curtains ; they invented with much ingenuity different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence ; they had their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldiers' security, and their covered galleries, which went quite round the walls, and served as casements ; their intrenchments behind the breaches, and necks of the towers ; they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire ; as also their countermines to render useless the mines of the enemy ; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification as it was practised among the ancients ; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns ; as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gunpowder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram ; and musket-shot in the room of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed ? By no means. The ancients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

#### VII. THE CONDITION OF THE PERSIAN FORCES AFTER CYRUS'S TIME.

I have already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that result from severity, discipline, skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping ; and, in short, that happiness of conduct which puts those great bodies in motion without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons, who formed the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights in the army, as in the king's court ; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines,



and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, was overburdened with the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders never reached them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's being able to remedy this disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed every thing that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

However, with all this vast train, the Persians astonished those nations that were not better acquainted with military affairs than themselves; and many of those that were more expert were yet overcome by them, being either weakened by their own dissensions, or overpowered by the numbers of the enemy. And by this means Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of her Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the lesser Asia, and even such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active, by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but small; but they were like strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul; so perfect an harmony was there in all their motions.

### ARTICLE III.

#### ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I do not pretend to give an account of the Eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy; its true design; the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, adapted to the majesty of the subjects on which it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the East, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eloquence that prevailed in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the



Athenians in particular, according to Plato,\* that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, the invention of which they have falsely ascribed to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. The holy Scripture informs us,† that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and rendering them subservient to numberless uses that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the same Scriptures that very soon after the deluge human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration: as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it gilding wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals; as brass, silver, or gold; and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and 5. To name no more, that of dyeing their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the cradle, as it were, of arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and restored by means of men's wants and necessities.

#### SECT. I.—ARCHITECTURE.

The building of the tower of Babel, and, shortly after, of those famous cities Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of the palaces of the kings and noblemen, divided into sundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; the convenience of quays on the banks of the great rivers; and the boldness of the bridges thrown over them: all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, show to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

I know not, however, whether in those ages this art rose to that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or whether those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity as they were for their magnitude and extent. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite; but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order: which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

\* In *Timæo*, p. 22.

† *Gen. c. iv.*

## SECT. II.—MUSIC.

It is no wonder, if, in a country, like Asia, addicted to pleasure, to luxury, and to voluptuousness, music, which gives the chief zest to such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal styles of ancient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or, at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. We learn from holy Scripture,\* that in Laban's time instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains that, by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family 'with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp.' Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two female musicians, very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.

To determine to what degree of perfection music was carried by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But unhappily it is not with music in this respect as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whereas, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed that they excelled in what relates to the *rhythmus*. What is meant by *rhythmus*, is the assemblage or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed, that the music we are here speaking of was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which the syllables were distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, whilst the latter made up two; and, consequently, the sound which answered to this, was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times, or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung consisted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the *rhythmus* of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent soever, were always divided into equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *ἔποις*, elevation or raising; and the latter *θέσις*, depression or falling: so the *rhythmus*

\* Gen. xxxi. 27.

of the song, which answered to every one of those feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a beat, and a rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal music, made their rhythmus much more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables: but nevertheless a skilful musician amongst us, may in some sort express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rhythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done for the benefit of young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned concerning the music of the ancients, is to know whether they understood music in several parts, that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have an harmonious connection, as in our counter-point, whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy des Belles Lettres*; which show the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

### SECT. III.—PHYSIC.

We likewise discover in those early times the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. Herodotus,\* and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them whether they had been afflicted with the same distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended that physic is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice, but he did not entirely rely upon it. The custom in those days was,† for all persons that had been sick and were cured, to put up a tablet in the temple of *Æsculapius*, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, and derived great advantage from them.

Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem.‡ *Æsculapius*, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: for in those days these several

\* Herod. l. i. c. 197. Strab. xvi. p. 746. † Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374. ‡ Diod. l. v. p. 341.



branches were not separated from one another, but were all included together under one profession.

The two sons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon,\* who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were no less excellent physicians than brave officers; and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in medicine, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. Nor did Achilles himself,† nor even Alexander the Great in after-times, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learnt it himself of Chiron, the Centaur, and afterwards instructed his friend Patrocles in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times; Virgil, speaking of a celebrated physician,‡ who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples:—‘*Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi maluit.*’ It was nature herself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. Their gardens, fields, and woods, supplied them gratuitously with an infinite plenty and variety. As yet no use was made of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.

Pliny says that physic, which had been brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it to have been always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon,§ never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard. He further remarks, that in this Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals; and he also informs us that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that it was Hippocrates who carried this science to its highest perfection. And though it be certain that several improvements and new discoveries have been made since his time, yet is he still looked upon by the ablest physicians as the first and chief master of that art, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, to the study of the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, as also to the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have added a long practice and experience, together with their own serious reflections; such

\* Hom. Iliad. l. x. v. 821—847.

† Plut. in Alex. p. 668.

‡ Æn. l. xii. v. 396.

§ Cyrop. l. i. p. 29. and l. viii. p. 212.



men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings:—‘The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration;’ since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings are devoted to the people’s health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly intrust it with persons of no credit or experience, who impose upon them by their impudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

#### SECT. IV.—ASTRONOMY.

However desirous the Grecians were to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide extensive plain, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. The Abbe Renaudot,† in his dissertation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain which in Scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaleddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused similar observations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears that this place was always reckoned one of the properest in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical researches more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a grave and credible author, according to Pliny,‡ speaks of observations made for the space of seven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick; which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. Those of which Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander’s train, makes mention,§ and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod’s building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknow-

\* Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.  
Lettres, Vol. I. Part. II. p. 3.

† Memoirs of the Academy des Belles  
‡ Plin. hist. nat. l. vii. c. 56.

§ Porphyr. apud Simplic. in l. ii. de cælo.

ledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science, not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shows,\* the study of that science has a very close and necessary connection; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who with infinite wisdom presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, although by their successful application and astronomical inquiries they came very near the Creator, were yet so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

#### SECT. V.—JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY.

As to the Babylonian and other Eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of Him who is both their Creator and Ruler, that for the most part it carried them into impiety, and the extravagancies of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretel events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects: a science justly looked upon as madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. ‘O delirationem incredibilem!’ cries Cicero,† in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first gave rise to this science; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space only of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child’s birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and, in a word, all the events and the duration of his life. He exposes a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridiculousness of which should excite contempt; and asks why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this further question, whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?

It is hardly credible that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, ‘*fraudentissima artium*,’ as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit as this has done, throughout the whole world, and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them:—‘*Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi*,’ attended with a superstitious

\* In *Epinom.* p. 989—992. † *Lib. ii. de Div. n.* 87, 99.

credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered by the pleasing and magnificent promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. 'Ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus.'

Modern writers, and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi and Rohault,\* have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles:—The heaven, according to the system of the astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts; which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac. These twelve parts or portions of heaven have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, and so of the rest: the most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypothesis, which are all equally fanciful; and I ask, whether any man of common sense can accede to them upon the bare word of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of pregnancy? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise determinate spot, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves with having that on their side. This can only consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now it is unanimously agreed by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass before any such situation of the stars as they would imagine can twice happen; and it is very certain that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above-mentioned, particularly Gassendi, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute subversion of all reason is, that certain freethinkers, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this

\* Gassendi Phys. sect. ii. l. 6. Rohault Phys. part ii. ch. 27.



stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a just chastisement from God, who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness ; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretell things which do really come to pass, but of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, does often in Scripture laugh to scorn the ignorance of the so much boasted Babylonish astrologers, calling them forgers of lies and falsehoods. He moreover defies all their false gods to foretell any thing whatsoever, and consents if they do that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after that prediction ; while none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of her perpetual grandeur, which they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they ? since at the very time of its execution, when Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, the Chaldeans, the soothsayers, and in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, were not able so much as to read the writing. Here then we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display all their science and power.

## ARTICLE IV.

### RELIGION.

The most ancient and general idolatry in the world was that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude ; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil which concealed him, while it indicated his existence. With the least reflection or penetration they might have discerned the Sovereign who commanded from the minister\* who did but obey.

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man : and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires, and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the East, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved :—' When I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness ; my heart hath not been secretly enticed, nor my mouth kissed my hand.'†

\* Among the Hebrews the ordinary name for the sun signifies minister.

† The text is in the form of an oath, ' If I beheld,' &c.—Job, xxxi. 26, 27.



The Persians adored the sun,\* and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade.—(This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians, from whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it and brought it into Palestine.)—Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known to them by the name of Mithra.

By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in their sacrifices, carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. History informs us† that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. The Persians likewise honoured the water, the earth, and the winds,‡ as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The Scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that 'they caused their children to pass through the fire.' It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a very different nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius.§ The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a fuller account of these deities hereafter.

The Persians erected neither statues nor temples, nor altars, to their gods; but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of the Deity to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the world should be reckoned as a house or a temple.

Cicero thinks that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples to their gods within their cities, and thereby assigned them a residence in common with themselves, which was well calculated to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion: (St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works.||) After having observed that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues for above a hundred and seventy years, he adds, that if they had still preserved their ancient

\* Herod. l. i. c. 131. + Zonar. Annal. vol. ii. ‡ Herod. l. i. c. 131.

§ Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 369. || Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei, n. 31.

custom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption:—‘*Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur;*’ and he strengthens his opinion by the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all private individuals to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi, in Persia, were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to divine worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what day, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters, without the king’s permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles,\* and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince’s great consideration for him.

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *θεῶν θεραπείαν*, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

It was even requisite that the king, before he came to the crown, should have received instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and have learned of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without first consulting them; for which reason Pliny says, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the Eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the king of kings.

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that doctrine, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only the tenet of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed, that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. What Pliny says† upon this head may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author,

\* In Them. p. 126.

† Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of six hundred years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect, about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the East, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the Eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabians, who adored images; and that of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the seven planets, which they believed to be inhabited by as many intelligences, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images, or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time the number of their gods considerably increased; this image-worship from Chaldea spread itself throughout all the East; from thence passed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabians was diametrically opposite that of the Magi, which also took its rise in the same Eastern countries. As the Magi held images in utter abhorrence, they worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, and where they have remained even to this day. Their chief doctrine was that there were two principles; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Ahraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanius; and, therefore, when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.

Concerning these two gods they had this difference of opinion; that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, others contended that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his peculiar world; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but which, since the death of Smerdis who usurped the throne, and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, had



fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion was, that whereas before they had held as a fundamental tenet the existence of two supreme principles, the first light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkness, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil: that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place: that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works; after which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separate for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which still subsists in Persia and India, do, without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader that almost all these tenets, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy Scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God: the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might have converse with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation; made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fire was carefully and constantly preserved; which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, &c. from whence I have taken only a short extract.



## THEIR MARRIAGES, AND THE MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD.

Having said so much of the religion of the Eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity. Amongst which, the marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a stronger idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain annual festival, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel or place of debauchery. This wicked custom was still in being and very prevalent when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so scandalous an abomination.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios, and of which they were as jealous as if they had had but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors. It strikes one with horror to read\* how far they carried their neglect and contempt of the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a sister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyses. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. We read in Plutarch,† that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. ‘For,’ says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, ‘Are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?’

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become master of Persia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the Gospel has delivered us, and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying their dead. It was not the custom of the Eastern nations, and

\* Philo, lib. de Special. leg. p. 778. Diog. Laer. in Proœm. p. 6.

† In Artax. p. 1023.

especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames. Accordingly we find that Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return. And when Cambyzes had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give a fuller account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel, The treatise of Barnabas Brisson,\* president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with erudite observations, which cost him little, and yet often do him great honour.

## ARTICLE V.

### THE CAUSES OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND OF THE CHANGE THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR MANNERS.

When we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people: and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal:—Their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

#### SECT. I.—LUXURY AND MAGNIFICENCE.

What made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon, inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing. The temperature of the country, where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardness; for which reason Cyrus† would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent education bestowed upon the ancient Persians, of which we have already given sufficient ac-

\* Barnab. Brissonius de regio Persarum principatu, &c. Argentorati, an, 1710.

† Plut. in Apophth. 172.

count, and which was not left to the humours and caprice of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this, the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them, therefore, we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know whether Cyrus himself did not at that very time sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show that was best calculated to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things, he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye and makes a fine show, the anxiety they have to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess as was little better than downright madness.\* The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and with what an equipage such a troop must be attended is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world would encourage them to fight with the greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that even in the army they carried their luxury and extravagance with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties,† must needs be found for the prince in what part of the world soever he was

\* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv. p. 91—99.

† Senec. l. iii. de Ira, c. 20.



encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reason Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes possessed of a real and solid merit have a thousand ways of compensating what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct than by the greatness of his expenses; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for pomp and expense first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim.

What then is that subtle, secret poison, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniencies and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

## SECT. II.—THE ABJECT SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY OF THE PERSIANS.

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And indeed what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies; and, as it was finely said by one



of the ancients,\* ‘from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue.’ He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent to the success of public affairs, to the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be said that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think that a despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open; and free access was allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table not only the generals of his army, not only the principal officers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently. His aim was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In reading Xenophon, we observe with pleasure, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery; but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gaiety which enlivened their entertainments, from which all pomp and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such a life and spirit to it as nothing but a real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as those very Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident, and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbra, when Cyrus’s horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice of what importance it is to a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king’s person became the danger of the army; and the troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe, richly embroidered and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads, and encircled by a superb diadem, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and splendid court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of

\* Hom. Odyss. P. v. 322.

royalty ; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality who loses all his merit and his dignity when he puts off his ornaments ?

Some of the Eastern kings, conceiving that they should thereby procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the Eastern countries. But it is a great mistake to imagine that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so ; and Plutarch observes,\* that that prince, and queen Statira his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people ; and by so doing were but the more respected.

Among the Persians no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him ; and this law, which Seneca with good reason calls a Persian slavery, '*Persicam servitutem*,' extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance ; and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, purposely let fall his ring when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about a homage, which the kings exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the Scripture relates of two sovereigns,† whereof the one commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image ; and the other, under the same penalty, suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself alone ; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran altogether on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven ; all this shows to what an extravagant excess the Eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satrapæ governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were looked upon only as slaves ; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity. In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatic nations, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery ; which made Cicero say, that the despotic power which some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by

\* In Art. p. 1013. † Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. vi.

dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king. Such a haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, so dispirited and depressed by habitual slavery as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude; which, to use the words of Longinus, is a kind of imprisonment wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted?

I am unwilling to say it, but I do not know whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute himself to introduce among the Persians both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians, till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances, first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance; for Xenophon intimates clearly enough that Cyrus, who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it, whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude. In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion: and I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks wherewith prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes, '*secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant*;' and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him from himself and his own naturally good inclinations; '*Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus*.'

### SECT. III.—THE WRONG EDUCATION OF THEIR PRINCES ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

It is Plato still, the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse which he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to preserve themselves in the practice of the same manners as were observed there.

Would one believe that a prince, who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children?



Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country where pomp, luxury, and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes, Cambyzes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them: all their desires were anticipated. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars; for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war; for they must needs have been of sufficient years: but perhaps the women opposed his design; and overruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as might be expected from it. Cambyzes came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream: in a word, a furious frantic madman, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land: but he had not given him the means for preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were; but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than he, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyzes.

From all this, Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon and became a kind of rule to all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.



## SECT. IV.—THEIR BREACH OF FAITH AND WANT OF SINCERITY.

We are informed by Xenophon\* that one of the causes both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was the want of public faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties into which they had entered, with the solemnity of an oath; and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity; and it was by this sound policy and prudent conduct that they gained the absolute confidence both of their own subjects and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs chiefly to the reign of the great Cyrus; though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus,† whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatsoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged that, if probity and truth were banished from the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king; who, being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.

Such sentiments as these, so noble and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon,‡ which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief officers of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interests; who hold it as a maxim that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients to give success to his enterprises and designs; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer considerations of state, before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in never so solemn and sacred a manner.

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety; and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and usual punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity invoked not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the sub-

\* Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

† De exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267.

‡ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

jecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping of all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the Supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and on what foundation shall the throne be established? Cyrus had good reason to say that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects but such as had a sense of religion and a reverence for the Deity; nor is it at all astonishing that the contempt which an impious prince who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, says Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects' unfaithfulness and disloyalty: but they do them wrong, and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrificed without scruple to their own particular interests.

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## BOOK THE FIFTH.

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# THE HISTORY

OF THE

## ORIGIN AND FIRST SETTLEMENT

OF THE SEVERAL

## STATES AND GOVERNMENTS

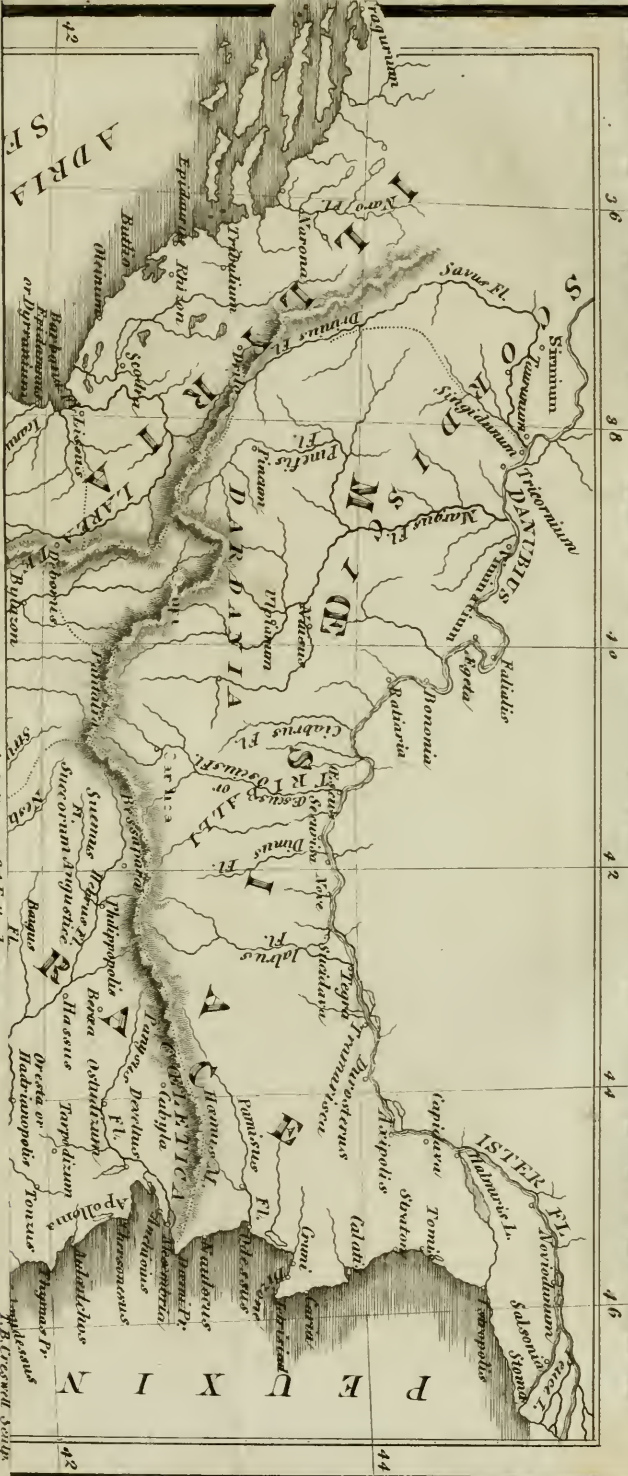
OF

## GREECE.

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OF all the countries of antiquity none have been so highly celebrated, or furnished history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples as Greece. In what light soever she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws, or the study and improvement of arts and sciences, all these she carried to a high degree of perfection; and it may truly be said, that in all these respects she has in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much interested in the history of such a nation; especially when we consider that it has been transmitted to us by writers of the most consummate merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords as by their pens, and were as great commanders and able statesmen as excellent historians. I confess it is



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By B. Creswell, Sculp.





# GREECE

with the  
 NORTHERN PROVINCES  
 near the Danube

London: Published by George & Strange, 24, Fife Lane.

T. R. D. 1820



a vast advantage to have such men for guides ; men of an exquisite judgment and consummate prudence ; of a refined and perfect taste in every respect ; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented, but, what is much more important, the proper reflections that are to accompany those facts, and which are the most useful improvements resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw all that I have to say, after I have previously inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

## ARTICLE I.

### A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

Ancient Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey, in Europe, was bounded on the east by the *Ægean sea*, now called the *Archipelago* ; on the south by the *Cretan*, or *Candian sea* ; on the west by the *Ionian sea* ; and on the north by *Illyria* and *Thrace*.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece are *Epirus*, *Peloponnesus*, *Greece* properly so called, *Thessaly*, and *Macedonia*.

*Epirus*.—This province is situate to the west, and divided from *Thessaly* and *Macedonia* by *Mount Pindus*, and the *Acroceraunian mountains*.

The principal inhabitants of *Epirus* are the *Molossians*, whose chief city is *Dodona*, famous for the temple and oracle of *Jupiter*. The *Chaonians*, whose principal city is *Oricum*. The *Thesprotians*, whose city is *Buthrotum*, where was the palace and residence of *Pyrrhus*. The *Acar-nanians*, whose city is *Ambracia*, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood *Actium*, famous for the victory of *Augustus Cæsar*, who built over against that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named *Nicopolis*. There were two little rivers in *Epirus*, very famous in fabulous story, *Cocytus* and *Acheron*.

*Epirus* must have been very well peopled in former times ; as *Polybius* relates,\* that *Paulus Æmilius*, after having defeated *Perseus*, the last king of *Macedonia*, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the *Molossians* ; and that he carried away from thence no less than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners.

*Peloponnesus*.—This is a peninsula, now called the *Morea*, joined to the rest of Greece only by the *Isthmus of Corinth*, that is but six miles broad. It is well known that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this *Isthmus*.

The parts of *Peloponnesus* are *Achaia*, properly so called, whose chief cities are *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, *Patræ*, &c. *Elis*, in which is *Olympia*, called also *Pisa*, seated on the river *Alpheus*, upon the banks of which the *Olympic games* used to be celebrated. *Messenia*, in which are the cities of *Messene*, *Pylos*, the birth-place of *Nestor* and *Corona*. *Arcadia*, in which was *Cyllene*, the mountain where *Mercury* was born, the cities of

\* Apud. Strab. l. vii. p. 322.

Tegea, Stymphalus, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, Polybius's native place; Laconia, wherein stood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ; mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. Argolis, in which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Troezen, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æsculapius.

Greece, properly so called.—The principal parts of this country were Ætolia, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon, and Olenus. Doris.—The Locri Ozolæ.—Naupactus, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. Phocis.—Anticyra. Delphi, at the foot of mount Parnassus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was mount Helicon. Bœotia.—Mount Cithæron. Orchomenus. Thespia. Chæronæa, illustrious as being Plutarch's native country. Plataæ, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. Attica.—Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerus. The mountain Hymettus, famous for its excellent honey.—Locris.

Thessaly.—The most remarkable towns of this province were Gomphi, Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the vigorous resistance of three hundred Spartans against Xerxes's numerous army, and for their glorious defeat. Phthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

Macedonia.—I shall mention only a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrhacium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. Ægæ. Ædessa. Pallene. Olynthus, from whence the Olynthiacs of Demosthenes took their name. Torono. Acanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Antony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos; and the river Strymon.

#### THE GRECIAN ISLES.

There is a great number of islands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Corcyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalona and Zante. Ithaca, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, over against Laconia, is Cythera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina, and Salamis, so famous for the sea-fight between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lie the Sporades; and the Cyclades, the most noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, whence the finest marble was dug. Higher up in the Ægean sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea, called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Scyrus, and a good deal higher Lemnos, now called Stali-

mene; and still further Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the Isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, now Scio, renowned for excellent wine: and lastly, Samos. Some of these last mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, or Cândia, is the largest of all the isles contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the *Ægean* sea, or the Archipelago; and to the south the African ocean. Its principal towns were Gortyna, Cydon, Gnossus; its mountains, Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous over all the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles. They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy toward Calabria,\* which places are for that reason called *Græcia Magna*. But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor,† and particularly in *Æolis*, *Ionia*, and *Doris*. The principal towns of *Æolis* are Cumæ, Phocæa, Elea. Of *Ionia*, Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Ephesus. Of *Doris*, Halicarnassus and Cnidos. They had also a great number of colonies dispersed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

## ARTICLE II.

### DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY INTO FOUR SEVERAL AGES.

The Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, marked out by so many memorial epochas, all which together include the space of 2154 years. The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece (beginning with that of Sicyon, which is the most ancient) to the siege of Troy, and comprehends about a thousand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820. The second extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians, and contains the space of six hundred sixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483. The third extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the finest part of the Grecian history, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681. The fourth and last age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfall of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and destruction of Corinth by the consul L. Mummius, in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Asia by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939, and of the kingdom of the Lagidæ in Egypt by Augustus, anno mun. 3974. This last age includes in all two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of these four ages, I shall in this place only touch upon the first two, in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general notion of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, have more of fable in them than of real history, and are wrapt up in such

\* Strab. l. vi. p. 253.

† Plin. l. vi. c. 2.



darkness and obscurity, as are very hard, if not impossible, to penetrate : and I have often declared already, that such a dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are anxious to make deep researches into history, does not come within the plan of my design.

### ARTICLE III.

#### THE PRIMITIVE ORIGIN OF THE GRECIANS.

In order to arrive at any certainty with respect to the first origin of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the accounts we have of it in holy Scripture.

Javan or Ion,\* (for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed form these two different names), the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. And for this reason Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel† is mentioned under the name of the king of Javan.

Javan had four sons,‡ Elishah, Tarshish, Chittim, and Dodanim. As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, without doubt his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became in succeeding ages so renowned for arts and arms.

Elishah is the same as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee translation, and the word *Ἕλληνες*, which was used as the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word *Ἕλλας* was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The very ancient city of Elis, in Peloponnesus, the Elysian fields, the river Elissus, or Ilissus, have long retained the marks of their being derived from Elishah, and have contributed more to preserve his memory than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original ; as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, and did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account they themselves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another fountain, as we shall see in the sequel ; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarshish was the second son of Javan. He settled as his brethren did, in some part of Greece, perhaps in Achaia, or the neighbouring provinces, as Elishah did in Peloponnesus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the Maccabees,§ in the beginning of which it is said that Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cetthim (or Chittim) to make war against Darius, king of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, Philip and Perseus, the two last mentioned princes are called kings of the Chittims.

\* Gen. x. 2.    † Dan. viii. 21.    ‡ Gen. x. 4.    § 1 Macc. i. 1.



**Dodanim.**—It is very probable that Thessaly and Epirus were the portion of this fourth son of Javan. The impious worship of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city of Dodona itself, are proofs that some remembrance of Dodanim had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment and origin from him.

This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the origin of the Grecian nations. The holy Scripture, whose design is not to satisfy our curiosity, but to nourish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history; which therefore can be collected only from profane authors.

If we may believe Pliny,\* the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. Homer, in his poems, calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is observable that the word Græcus is not once used in Virgil.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that point. But a people so vain of their origin as to adorn it by fiction and fables, would never think of inventing any thing in its disparagement. Who would imagine that the people,† to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, were ignorant even of agriculture, and fed on herbs and roots like the brute beasts? And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to the person‡ who first taught them to feed upon acorns as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter till after a long process of time.

The weakest were not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another; the number of which insensibly increasing, formed in time towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians,§ by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into her mysteries.

Greece, in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolutions;|| because, as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought more fertile and delightful than their own, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and there-

\* Lib. iv. c. 7.

† Pausan. l. viii. p. 455, 456.

‡ Pelasgas.

§ Herod. l. ii. c. 58. & l. v. c. 58—60. Plin. l. v. c. 12. & l. vii. c. 56.

|| Thucyd. lib. i. p. 2.

fore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of *αὐτόχθονες*, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nations, that had almost all transplanted themselves from place to place.

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states whereof the whole country consisted.

## ARTICLE IV.

### THE DIFFERENT STATES INTO WHICH GREECE WAS DIVIDED.

In those early times kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

**Sicyon.**—The most ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon; whose beginning is placed by Eusebius\* thirteen hundred and thirteen years before the first Olympiad. [A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2089.] Its duration is believed to have been a thousand years.

**Argos.**—The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, began a thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. [A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1856.] The first king of it was Inachus. His successors were, his son Phoroneus; Apis; Argus, from whom the country took its name; and after several others, Gelanor, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by Danaus, the Egyptian. [A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474.] The successors of this last were Lynceus, the son of his brother Ægyptus, who alone, of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then Abas, Proteus, and Acrisius.

Of Danac, daughter to the last, was born Perseus, who having when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather, Acrisius, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ, and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

**Mycenæ.**—Perseus then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left several sons behind him; among others Alcæus, Sthenelus, and Electryon. Alcæus was the father of Amphitryon; Sthenelus of Eurystheus; and Electryon of Alcmena. Amphitryon married Alcmena, upon whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Eurystheus and Hercules came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was by Juno's management antecedent to that of the latter, Hercules was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged by his order to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fabulous history.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ, after Perseus, were, Electryon, Sthenelus, and Eurystheus. The last, after the death of Hercules, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happened, was done by the Heraclidæ; for, having killed Eurystheus in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of the coun-

\* Euseb. in Chron.

try. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

Atreus, the son of Pelops, uncle by the mother's side to Eurystheus, was the latter's successor. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponnesus, which before was called Apia, derived its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, is known to all the world.

Plisthenes, the son of Atreus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his son Agamemnon, who was succeeded by his son Orestes. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

Tisimenes and Penthilus, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

Athens.—Cecrops, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. [A. M. 2448. Ant. J. C. 1556.] Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He it was who established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor Cranans, adjudged the famous difference between Neptune and Mars. In his time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, and happened a thousand and twenty years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

Amphictyon, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of Erectheus is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

The reign of Ægeus, the son of Pandion, is the most illustrious period of the history of the heroes. [A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284.] In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

Theseus succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

Codrus was the last king of Athens; he devoted himself to die for his people. After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. [A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070.] Medon, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, that is to say, president or governor. The first Archontes were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great a resemblance to royal power, made their Archontes elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office.



[A. M. 2549. Ant. J. C. 1455.] Thebes.—Cadmus, who came by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country, which was afterwards called Bœotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmea, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion. The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Œdipus their son, of Etocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Œdipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

Sparta, or Lacedæmon.—It is supposed, that Lelex, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the Christian æra.

Tyndarus, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had, by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena, and Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of choosing a successor, by looking out for a husband for his daughter Helena. All the suitors to this princess bound themselves by oath, to abide by, and entirely to submit to, the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans; which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city, where Achilles, the Ajaxes, Nestor, and Ulysses, gave Asia sufficient reason to forebode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a ten years' siege, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, according to Archbishop Usher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 years before Jesus Christ. This epocha is famous in history, and should carefully be remembered, as well as that of the Olympiads. An Olympiad is the revolution of four complete years, from one celebration of the Olympic games to the other. We have elsewhere given an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia. The common æra of the Olympiads begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before Jesus Christ, from the games in which Corebus won the prize in the foot race. Fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-entered Peloponnesus, and seized Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus instituted that body of laws for the Spartan state, which rendered both the legislator and republic so famous in history: I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

[A. M. 2628. J. C. 1376.] Corinth.—Corinth began later than the other cities I have been speaking of, to be governed by kings of its own. It was at first subject to those of Argos and Mycenæ; at last, Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about 110 years after the siege of Troy. The regal power, after this, came to the descendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom they



called Prytanis. At last Cypselus having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Periander; who held a distinguished rank among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

[A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 1813.] Macedonia.—It was a long time before the Greeks paid any great attention to Macedonia. Her kings, living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom Caranus was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip, and his son Alexander, raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had subsisted 471 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 155 more, till Perseus was defeated and taken by the Romans; in all 626 years.

## ARTICLE V.

### COLONIES OF THE GREEKS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR.

We have already observed that fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tisamenes and Penthilus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, among themselves.

So great a revolution as this changed almost the whole face of the country, and made way for several very famous transmigrations. To understand these the better, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of many of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly,\* and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife two sons, Hellen and Amphictyon. The latter, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Hellen, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Hellenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and besides Thessaly had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions. Several of his descendants went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia. The country contiguous to Parnassus, fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris. Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some private quarrel, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponnesus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His descendants settled at Lacedæmon. Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave his name to the country; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of the Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave their name to the country they possessed. Thus all the inhabitants of Pello-

\* Strab. l. viii. p. 383, &c. Pausan. l. vii. p. 396, &c.

ponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourscore years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which they imagined of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus: the last dying, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as the motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient domain. Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them took the name of Æolus, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the city of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they some time afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia Minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king,\* being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that had fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were worsted in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus,† another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the island of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

#### THE GRECIAN DIALECTS.

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number: the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation, but yet all derived from, and grounded upon, the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages can no ways appear wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens, and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

\* Strab. p. 393.

† Ibid. p. 653.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic; but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands, which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaïa, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy which the Athenians afterwards attained. Hippocrates and Herodotus writ in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracusans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities, that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

## ARTICLE VI.

### THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT ALMOST GENERALLY ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT GREECE.

The reader may have observed, in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all those different states was monarchical government, the most ancient of all forms, the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord; and which, as Plato observes,\* is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion which fathers exercise over their families.

But as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, the severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions that happened in those states; a totally different spirit seized the people, which prevailed all over Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government every where, except in Macedonia; so that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which however was diversified into almost as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, there still remained a kind of tincture or leaven of the ancient monarchical government, which from time to time inflamed the ambition of many private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every one of these petty states of Greece, some private persons arose, who without any right to the throne, either by birth or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrusts and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions; and to sacrifice to their own security all those whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or

\* Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 680.

love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and tottering government, which found itself hated by all, and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these men so odious, under the appellation of Tyrants,\* and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece, that seemed so entirely disjoined from one another by their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body; whose strength increased to such a degree as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would entirely have overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to preserve that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following volumes, a small nation, confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, disputing for dominion with the most powerful empire then upon the earth; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride so low as to make them submit to conditions of peace as shameful to the conquered as glorious for the conquerors.

Among the cities of Greece there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest solely by their merit and conduct; these two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought first to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners and government, of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

## ARTICLE VII.

THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. LAWS ESTABLISHED BY LYCURGUS.

There is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and the discipline established in it by Lycurgus. This legislator was the son of Eunomus,† one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been easy for Lycurgus to have ascended the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and, in fact, he was king for some days. But, as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared, that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow gave him secretly to understand, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she

\* This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

† Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 40.



would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

The state was at this time in great disorder;\* the authority both of the kings and the laws, being absolutely despised and disregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased more and more.

Lycurgus formed the bold design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons in the art of government. He began with the island of Crete, whose harsh and austere laws are very famous; from thence he passed into Asia, where quite different customs prevailed; and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return; and the kings themselves importuned him to that purpose, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this design in execution, he went to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo, where, after having offered his sacrifice, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him 'A friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man.' And as for the favour he desired of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him the gods had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta the first thing he did was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; and when he was assured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may be reduced to three principal institutions.

#### 1. INSTITUTION.—THE SENATE.

Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus, the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the kings, by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of that state. For whereas be-

\* Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 41.

fore it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceedings of the kings, at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight senators,\* of which it consisted, siding with the kings, when the people were grasping at too much power; and on the other hand espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty, that composed the senate, still too strong and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they devised the authority of the Ephori,† about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five number, and remained but one year in office. They were all chosen out of the people; and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus, whose wife reproaching him, that he would leave to his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it to them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government then was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; so that in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for many ages in the exact observance of her laws:—

## 2. INSTITUTION.—THE DIVISION OF THE LANDS AND THE PROHIBITION OF GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.

The second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The greater part of the people were so poor that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country; in order therefore to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state, still greater and more ancient than those, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminence or honours should be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This scheme, extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into nine thousand parts, which he distributed among an equal

\* This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

† The word signifies comptroller or inspector.

number of citizens. It is said that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along, the perfect equality of the sheaves of reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said, smiling, 'Does not Laconia look like the possession of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance amongst them?'

After having divided their immovables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of inequality. But perceiving that this would meet with more opposition if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundations of avarice. For first he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minæ,\* and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves, and disappeared with the gold and silver money; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities; and this iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

### 3. INSTITUTION.—THE PUBLIC MEALS.

Lycurgus, being desirous to make war still more vigorously upon effeminacy and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together of the same common victuals, which were prescribed by law, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.

By this institution of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a condition of being desired or stolen, or of enriching their possessors; for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy his opulence, or even to make any show of it; since the poor and the rich ate together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet; because every body present took particular notice of any one that did not eat and drink, and the whole company were sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occasion, that in a tumult of the people, a young man, named Alexander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner; for, by the extraordinary

\* Five hundred livres French, about 20*l.* English.



kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed youth in a little time become very moderate and wise.

The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each ; where none could be admitted without the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished every month a bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal : and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children were present at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and sprightly raillery ; but never intermixed with any thing vulgar or disgusting ; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secrecy : as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, ' Nothing spoken here, must ever go out there.'

The most exquisite of all their dishes was what they called their black broth ;\* and the old men preferred it to every thing that was set upon the table. Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of these meals, was not of the same opinion ; and what was a ragout to them, was to him very insipid. I do not wonder at it, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting. What seasoning, replied the tyrant. Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger and thirst ; these are the ingredients, says the cook, with which we season all our food.

#### 4. OTHER ORDINANCES.

When I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws :† he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded, that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens : for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immovable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity ; and the youth that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents ; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and caprice, but would have the state intrusted with the care of their education,

\* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 98.    † Plut. vit. Lyc. p. 47.



in order to have them formed upon fixed and uniform principles, which might inspire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him;\* and if they found him well made, strong and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the nine thousand portions of land for his inheritance;† if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthful constitution, they condemned him to perish, and caused the infant to be exposed.

Children were early accustomed not to be nice or difficult in their eating; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themselves up to peevishness and ill humour, to crying and bawling; to walk barefoot,‡ that they might be inured to fatigue; to lie hard at nights; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.

At the age of seven years they were put into the classes,§ where they were brought up all together under the same discipline. Their education, properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience; the legislator having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates (in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists), was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

While they were at table, it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions.|| They would ask them, for example, Who is the most worthy man in the town? What do you think of such or such an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick or ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both couched in a few words: for they were accustomed betimes to the laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short; and a great deal of sense comprised in few words.

As for literature, they only learned as much as was necessary.¶ All the sciences were banished out of their country: their study tended only to know how to obey, to bear hardship and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendant of their education was one of the most honourable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

There was one kind of theft only (and that too more a nominal than a real one) which the boys were allowed, and even ordered, to practise.

\* Plut. vit. Lyc. p. 49. † I do not comprehend how they could assign to every one of these children one of the nine thousand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same? Did it never exceed nine thousand? It is not said in this case, as in the division of the holy land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

‡ Xen. de Lac. rep. p. 677.

§ Plut. in Lyc. p. 50.

|| Ibid. p. 51.

¶ Ibid. p. 52.

They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat; and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told that one of them, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered, without uttering a complaint, the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorised by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislator in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with greater boldness, subtilty and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already treated this matter more at large elsewhere.

The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival, celebrated in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, where the children before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city,\* suffered themselves to be whipped till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or a sigh: and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives at the celebration of these cruel rites. Hence it is, that Horace† gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, ‘*Patiens Lacedæmon;*’ and another author makes a man who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, ‘*Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concoxi.*’

The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting,‡ and other bodily exercises. They were forbidden to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, and paid them a certain proportion of the produce.

Lycurgus was willing that his citizens should enjoy a great deal of leisure: they had large common-halls, where the people used to meet to converse together; and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pædaretus, having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, ‘He was overjoyed there were three hundred men in Sparta more worthy than himself.’

At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue and the hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, and even their public monuments and inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and examples, not to become

\* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. n. 34.

† Ode vii. lib. 1.

‡ Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 54.

virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily create in a little time an aversion for the mode of life and maxims of Lacedæmon. Neither would he suffer any strangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to some useful or profitable end, but out of mere curiosity; being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of a city against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war: every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exercise and employment: their life was much less hard and austere in the camp than in the city; and they were the only people in the world to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment; because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty. With them the first and most inviolable law of war,\* as Demaratus told Xerxes, was, never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their posts; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer or to die. This maxim† was so important and essential in their opinion, that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; because they understood, that in one of his poems he had said, 'It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expose himself to be killed.'

Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield: and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, 'I brought him into the world for no other end.‡' This temper of mind was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temple to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were dishonoured and disgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions, but it was reckoned scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage; and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers;§ and when that was done they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and to make use of

\* Herod. l. vii. cap. 104. † Plut. in Lacon. institut. p. 239.

‡ Cic. lib. i. Tusc. Quæst. n. 102. Plut. in vit. Ages, p. 612.

§ Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 53.



Plutarch's expressions, 'As if God were present with, and fought for them, *ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπαρόντος.*'

When they had broken and routed their enemy's forces, they never pursued them further than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious nor worthy of Greece to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as it was honourable to the Spartans; for their enemies, knowing that all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those that fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.

When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice,\* and the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as Plato says of God, that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony;† so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphi, he consulted the god to know whether the laws he had made were good and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; and then, thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphi, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His notion was, that even the death of great persons and statesmen should not be useless and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought that in dying thus he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observation of his institutions, which they had sworn inviolably till his return.

Although I represent Lycurgus's sentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them; and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wise men among the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect

\* Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 57.

† This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe that this philosopher had read what Moses says of God when he created the world—'Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.' Gen. i. 31.



notions; or, to speak more properly, remained in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings, that man, placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times they looked upon man as a criminal condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence indeed he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate, and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his prison. These notions are beautiful, because they are true; but the application they made of them was wrong; by taking that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to put themselves to death, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains and troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND UPON THE  
LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

I. THINGS COMMENDABLE IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

There must needs have been (to judge only by the event) a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; since, as long as they were observed in Sparta (which was above five hundred years), it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much (says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta) the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue; or rather, continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's skin and club went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants; so Sparta, with a slip of parchment,\* and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion: suppressed tyrannies and unjust authorities in cities; put an end to wars, as she thought fit, and appeased insurrections; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador amongst them, who no sooner appeared than all the people submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their monarch: so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

We find at the end of Lycurgus's life a reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined

\* This was what the Spartans called 'scytale,' a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They wrote upon this thong, and when they had written, they untwisted it, and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and written upon, wrapt it round that staff in the same manner, and by that means found out the connection and arrangement of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read. Plut. in vit. Lys. p. 444.

themselves wholly to words and theory: but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and speculative projects, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together, what he found best in every kind of government, and most conducive to the public good; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniencies to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchical form of government in the authority of her kings; the council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power vested in the people of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The institution of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those previous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wisdom in his institution of the senate, which was equally advantageous both to the kings and the people; because by this means the law became the only supreme mistress of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

The design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, law-suits, and dissensions, by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a scheme of a commonwealth finely conceived in speculation, but utterly impracticable in execution, did not history assure us, that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable part of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city to resign all their revenues and estates, to level and confound themselves with the poorest of the people; to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of every thing wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Agesilaus and Cicero, in one of his orations, observes, that Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and law for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate. 'Soli,\* said the latter, speaking of the Lacedæmonians, 'toto orbe terrarum septingentos jamannos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legi-

\* Pro. Plac. num. lxxiii.

bus vivunt.' I believe, however, that in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished; but all historians agree that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable himself of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruit of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institutions of their legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded and made way for avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominions. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed,\* to curb and restrain the ambition of his citizens; to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any further. Indeed, the government which he established was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raising her to a dominion over other cities.

The design, then, of Lycurgus, was not to make the Spartans conquerors. To remove such thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbid them, though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle with maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep so formidable an enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived that these maritime remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances,† it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers; but it was only that, under the shadow of their arms, they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being contented in their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded that no city or state, any more than individuals, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness but from virtue only. Men of a depraved taste (says Plutarch‡ further on the same subject), who think nothing so desirable as riches and a large extent of dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no further views than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injustice, vio-

\* Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.

† Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 59.

‡ Ibidem, & in vit. Agesil. p. 614.



lence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauty consists, are of infinite use towards the giving us true notions, wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state that is really happy; as also to correct those false ideas which we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made use of to succeed therein are no less worthy of admiration. The principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline; for (as Plutarch observes) the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws, as it were, into the minds and manners of the children, and made them suck in almost with their mother's milk an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above five hundred years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a strong and good dye that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition, as to their excellent education. '*Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum natura corroborata, verum etiam disciplina putatur.*'\* All this shows of what importance it is to a state to take care, that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

The great maxim of Lycurgus,† which Aristotle repeats in express terms, was, that as children belong to the state, their education ought to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only considered therein. It was for this reason he enacted that they should be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and, what is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to procure them health, and make their constitutions the more vigorous and robust; able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war, for which they were all designed from their cradles.

But the most excellent thing in the Spartan education, was its teaching young people so perfectly well how to obey. It is from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a magnificent epithet,‡ which denotes that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them pliant and submissive to the laws, in the same manner as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and trained while they are young. For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his

\* Orat. pro Flac. n. 63.

† L. viii. Politic.

‡ *Δαμασίμβροτος*, that is to say, Tamer of men.



children to Sparta, that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command and how to obey.

One of the lessons oftenest and most strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to entertain great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting them, by making way for them, and giving them place in the streets,\* by rising up to show them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission: by these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he came; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into the theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them. Lysander therefore had reason to say, that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta, and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

## 2. THINGS BLAMEABLE IN THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

In order to perceive more clearly the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we have only to compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into a strict detail of the particulars wherein the laws and institutions of Lycurgus are faulty; I shall content myself with making only some slight reflections, which probably the reader has already anticipated, as he must have been justly disgusted by the mere recital of some of those ordinances.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish; who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be born with a constitution that appeared too weak and delicate to undergo the fatigues and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robust and vigorous constitution? Or suppose it were so, can a man no way serve his country but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? ‘*Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.*’† Did Lycurgus himself render less service, or do less honour to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean in person, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, little as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

\* Plut. in Lacon. Institut. p. 237. † Cicer. l. i. de offi. n. 79. lb. n. 76.

But what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power over the lives of men than He from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renewal of the law of nature, 'Thou shalt not kill,' universally condemns all those among the ancients who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

The great defect in Lycurgus's laws (as Plato and Aristotle have observed) is, that they tended only to form a nation of soldiers. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon the means of strengthening the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other advantages, have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary intercourse of life agreeable? Hence it came to pass, that there was something of a roughness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity, a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

It was an excellent practice in Sparta to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by several severe and laborious exercises to bring the body into subjection to reason, whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all her orders and injunctions: which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their severities so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? and was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern.

Some people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part, I should think it much better that nature should show herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his son was killed, spoke much more properly on the subject:—'Let us at present think,' said he, 'how to conquer the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my son.'

Nor can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending the whole of their time, except when they were engaged in war, in idleness and inaction. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves and strangers that lived amongst them, and put nothing into the hands of the citizens but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to such a degree as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditions and riots among them; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much

leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour ? This is an inconvenience even now but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their injudicious education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in a most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and derogatory to their gentility. They seldom know how to handle any thing but their swords. As for the sciences, they take but a very small tincture of them ; just so much as they cannot well be without ; and many have not the least knowledge of them, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits and frivolous discourse, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts or understanding !

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcusable if he gave occasion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in his republic. These Helots were slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but they treated them also with the utmost barbarity, and thought themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatsoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by Thucydides,\* two thousand of these Helots disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends this barbarous custom was not practised till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

But that wherein Lycurgus appears to be most culpable, and what most clearly shows the prodigious enormities and gross darkness in which the Pagans were plunged, is the little regard he showed for modesty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women ; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When he compares these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts, what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion !

Nor will it give us a less advantageous notion of this pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's institutions with the laws of the Gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful thing, that a whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich ; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver, they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted these laws, had the sword in his hand ; whereas the Christian legislator says but a word, ' Blessed are the poor in spirit,' and thousands of the faithful through all succeeding generations renounce their goods, sell their lands and estates, and leave all to follow Jesus Christ, their master, in poverty and want.

\* Lib. iv.



## ARTICLE VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. THE LAWS OF SOLON. THE HISTORY OF THAT REPUBLIC FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST.

I have already observed that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they had little more than the name; for their whole power being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to die for the public good, his sons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the succession. The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommode them: and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens; at the very same time that the Jews, weary of Theocracy, that is, of having the true God for their king, would absolutely have a man to reign over them.\*

Plutarch observes that Homer when he enumerates the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of 'people' to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of Archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still in the eyes of this free people as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one; and this they did with a view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independence, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that seemed to encroach upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. From hence arose continual factions and quarrels: there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions with which she had to struggle.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned at length that true liberty consists in a dependence upon justice and reason. This happy subjection could not be established but by a legislator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and integrity. [A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 624.]—It does not appear that Greece had, before his time, any written laws. He published some, whose rigour, anticipating as it were, the Stoical doctrine, was so great that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written, says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had

\* Codrus was contemporary with Saul.



the same fate as usually attends all violent extremes. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people; all these motives, I say, concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws; which by that means, in process of time, became as it were abrogated through disuse: and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders made them have recourse to fresh precautions; for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order therefore to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of the law, they cast their eyes upon one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean Solon; [A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604.] whose singular qualities, and especially his great mildness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.

His chief application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call politics, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit gave him one of the first ranks among the seven ages of Greece, who rendered the sage we are speaking of so illustrious. These sages often paid visits to one another.\* One day that Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said to him was, that he wondered why he had never chosen to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then; but a few days after he contrived that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he was just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon asked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came away? The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whose funeral was attended by all the town, because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent. Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! But, pray, what is the gentleman's name? I heard his name, replied the stranger, but I have forgotten it: I only remember that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice. Every answer afforded new cause of anxiety and terror to the inquiring father, who was so justly alarmed. Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon? The very same, replied the stranger. Solon, at these words, rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile—'Comfort yourself, my friend; all that has been told to you is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married: is it because I am unwilling to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.'

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the

\* Plut. in Solon. p. 81, 82.

grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy; but upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

Athens, after some interval of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains were fond of popular government; those in the low lands were for an oligarchy; and those that dwelt on the sea-coasts were for having a mixed government, compounded of those two forms blended together; and these hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.

In this extreme danger all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they solicited him very earnestly to take the management of affairs, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission; however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator, with the unanimous consent of all parties; the rich liking him as he was rich; and the poor, because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favorable change consistent with the laws, were not unwilling that the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and thought only of settling a form of government in his country that should be the parent of a just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with, by the influence of reason, or bring them into by the weight of his authority; wisely mixing, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians were the best that could be given them? 'Yes,' said he, 'the best they were capable of receiving.'

The soul of popular states is equality. But, for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon durst not propose any equality of lands and wealth; whereby

Attica, as well as Laconia, would have resembled a paternal inheritance divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

This affair drew Solon into a troublesome scrape, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts, he foresaw, that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenour of it, by introducing it with a specious preamble, which set forth a great many very plausible pretexts, and gave a colour of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends, whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed large sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchasing of lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When the edict was published, the general indignation, that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in fact he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him ought to be so too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapine, that may be committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him; because it is his business, and one of the principal designs of his being put into such trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties; it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's influence at Athens fell very short of that which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards, this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws that had been made by Draco, except those against murder. The reason of his doing this was the excessive rigour of those laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders; so that they who were convicted of sloth and idleness, or they that had stolen only a few herbs or a little fruit out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed all the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes and revenues, and according



to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those that were found to have five hundred measures per annum, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had three hundred were placed in the second; and those that had but two hundred, made up the third. All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments. But in order to make them amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgments of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them masters of all the affairs of the city: for most of the law-suits and differences were ultimately referred to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magistrates; and in the assemblies of the people the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

The Areopagus, so called from the place where its assemblies were held,\* had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendency over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws (of which he made that body the guardian) to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and worth were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first that thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of Archon. Nothing was so august as this senate:† and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here, but truth alone; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent as much as possible the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the general assembly of the people; to the judgment of which the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject that Anacharsis (whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the heart of Scythia) said one day to Solon, I wonder you should empower wise men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools.

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis, astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and in-

\* This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, the hill of Mars; because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune.

† Val. Max. l. viii. c. l. Lucian. in Hermot. p. 595. Quintil. l. vi. c. l.



justice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner:—  
 ‘ Give me leave to tell you, that these written laws are just like spiders’ webs: the weak and small may be caught and entangled in them; but the rich and powerful will break through them and despise them.’

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniencies that attend a democracy, or popular government; but, having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people’s hands; and that if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus and the council of four hundred; judging that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would enjoy more tranquillity.

I shall mention only some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. In the first place,\* every particular person was authorised to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted; so that the first comer might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.

The design of this wise legislator by this ordinance was, to accustom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one another’s sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

By another law, those persons that in public differences and dissensions did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Solon had learnt, from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually the most backward to expose themselves to the inconveniencies which public dissensions and troubles produce in society; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so vigilant and active in the defence of it as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the right side being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well affected, by the fear of greater inconveniencies to themselves, to declare at the very beginning of any commotion for the party that was in the right, and to animate the spirit and courage of the best citizens by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, that should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women,

\* Plut. in Solon. p. 68.

unless they were only daughters; and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value, for he would not have matrimony become a traffic and a mere commerce of interest; but desired that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.

Before Solon's time the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit: preferring by that means friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where he pleased. This law, however, did not authorise indifferently all sorts of donations: it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated by potions or charms, or perverted and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman; for this wise law-giver was justly persuaded that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understandings.

Another regulation he made was to lessen the rewards of the victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games,\* and to fix them at a certain value, viz. a hundred drachmas, which make about two pounds, for the first sort; and five hundred drachmas, or about ten pounds, for the second. He thought it a shameful thing that athletæ and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless, but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country, it being very just and reasonable, that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to gain his livelihood, and of chastising and punishing all those who lead an idle life. Besides the forementioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons still more important.

1. Solon considered that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to gain their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the necessity of subsisting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanors, rapine, knaveries, and frauds; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth; and such a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

\* Plut. p. 91. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in revolutions of the state, by which alone they can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons that in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared, that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation. All children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty: for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever thus contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having then satisfied his own desires, he has no proper right over the persons who may spring from this disgraceful intercourse, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed an incredible infamy and reproach.

It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead; \* because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare those that are no more, and good policy should hinder hatred from becoming immortal.

It was also forbidden to affront or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the theatres, during the time of representation: for to be nowhere able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition; as, on the other hand, to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the strength of mere human nature, and a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered—‘That to make laws against, and ordain punishments for a crime that hitherto had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it.’ I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find even among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for the term of a hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom; as also to rid himself of the trouble and importunity of those who came to consult him about the meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and ill-will of others: for, as he said himself, in great undertakings it is hard (if not impossible) to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia, to visit king Cræsus, and several other countries.—[A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 553.]—At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble;† the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties. Ly-

\* Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

† Ibid. p. 94.



curgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low lands; Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, was the leader of the inhabitants upon the sea-coast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the handicraftsmen and labourers who lived by their industry, and who were particularly hostile to the rich: of these three leaders the two latter were the most powerful and considerable.

Megacles was the son of that Alcmaeon whom Cræsus had extremely enriched for a particular service which he had done him.\* He had likewise married a lady who had brought him an immense portion: her name was Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Clisthenes was the richest and most opulent prince at this time in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character from his own experience, Clisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house; for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youth accepted the invitation, and came from different parts, to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of topics. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by having made use of some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Clisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away, loaded with civilities and presents. Such was Megacles.

Pisistratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and insinuating behaviour,† ready to succour and assist the poor;‡ prudent and moderate towards his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler; and one who had all the exterior of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against all innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people with all this artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences; however, he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods to bring him back to his duty.

It was at this time Thespis began to change the Grecian tragedy:§ I say change; because it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended he called to Thespis, and asked him, ‘Whether he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so many people?’ Thespis made answer, ‘That there was no harm in lies of that sort, and

\* Herod. lib. vi. c. 125—131.

† Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

‡ We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms; for in those times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen that died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging.—Orat. Areop. p. 309.

§ Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis; but it was only a chorus of persons that sung and said opprobrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus by the addition of a character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person. And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.



in poetical fictions, which were only made for diversion.' 'No,' replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground; 'but if we suffer and approve of lying for our own diversion, it will quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all our business and affairs.'

In the mean time Pisistratus still pushed on his point;\* and, in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as well as he could expect. He gave himself several wounds;† and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his enemies had treated him in that manner, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.

An assembly of the people was immediately convened; and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel. All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution? 'It is,' said he, 'my old age.' He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near: though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought this conquest imperfect till he had gained Solon: and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to conciliate an old man, he spared no caresses, omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon him, and showed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for his laws; which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon, seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation, or to depose him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him, and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting and turning into a proper channel a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country two years complete: for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens, under the Archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad; and Solon died the year following, under the Archon Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, the heads of which were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens. He was, however, soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference, that arose upon occasion of this match, having embroiled them afresh, the Alcæonidæ had the worst, and were obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself.

\* Herod. l. i. c. 59—64.

† Plut. in Solon. p. 95, 96.

His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his eloquence, which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of oratory, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers; and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason, the character of Pisistratus has been thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, 'We do not yet know whether the destiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Pisistratus.'

This tyrant, indeed, if we are to call him so, always showed himself very popular and moderate; and had such a command of his temper as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. It is said,\* he was the first who opened a public library in Athens, which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, when he took the city. But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, caused it to be brought back to Athens. Cicero thinks also,† it was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who arranged the books in the order in which we now find them, whereas before they were confused, and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at the feasts called Panathenæa. Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.‡

Pisistratus died in tranquillity,§ and transmitted to his sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.—[A. M. 3478. Ant. J. C. 526.]

His sons were Hippias and Hipparchus. Thucydides adds a third, whom he calls Thessalus. They seem to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus what we have said concerning the poems of Homer, adds, that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him. He likewise entertained at his house Simonides, another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love for virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting, not only in the streets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, statues of stone, called Mercuries, with grave sentences and moral maxims carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. But Thucydides shows|| that Hippias, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.

\* Aul. Gel. vi. c. 17.      † Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 137.      ‡ In Hip. p. 228.

§ Arist. lib. v. de Rep. c. 12.      || Lib. vi. p. 446.

Be this as it may, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years' duration: it ended in the following manner:—Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship.\* Hipparchus, angry with the former for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, endeavoured to revenge himself upon his sister, by putting a public affront upon her, obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging, that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and still more his friend, being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, took from that moment a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the Panathenæa, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they admitted only a very small number of the citizens into the secret; conceiving, that upon the first motion all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace, and went to the Ceramicus, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends having followed him thither, saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where, meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain, and Hippias found means to dispel the storm.

After this affair, he no longer observed any measure, and reigned like a true tyrant, putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, and to secure a safe retreat for himself, in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and to that end gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

In the mean time† the Alcæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not however lose courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, who constituted the general council of Greece, to superintend the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, for the sum of three hundred talents, or three hundred thousand crowns.‡ As they were naturally generous, and had besides their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole front of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expense; whereas by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

The liberality of the Alcæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty;

\* Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450.

† Herod. l. v. c. 63—96.

‡ About 40,000*l.* sterling.



neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphi a pure effect of religion; policy was the chief motive. They hoped by this means to acquire great influence in the temple, and it happened according to their expectation. The money, which they had plentifully poured into the hands of the priestess, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who for the future becoming their echo, did no more than faithfully repeat the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often therefore as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his own affairs or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratidæ, though they were under the strongest engagements of friendship and hospitality with them; herein preferring the will of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding, a little time after they made a second, which seemed to promise no better success than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated that he should depart out of Attica in five days time. Accordingly, he actually retired within the time limited, [A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.] and settled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.

Pliny observes,\* that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that had never been conferred on any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood. Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending back to them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes had formerly carried thither from Athens. Pausanias ascribes this action to Seleucus Nicanor, one of the successors of Alexander; and adds, that he also sent back to the Athenians their public library, which Xerxes had carried off with him into Persia. Athens, at the time of her deliverance from tyranny,† did not confine her gratitude solely to the

\* Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4. † Id. l. vii. c. 23, & l. xxxiv. c. 8.



authors of her liberty, but extended it even to a woman who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtesan, named Leæna, who by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; showing the world that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost; and to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtesan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumstance by representing her, in the statue which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.

Plutarch, in the life of Aristides,\* relates a circumstance which does great honour to the Athenians, and shows to what a pitch they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemos, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and, marrying her to one of the most rich and considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her pristine courage. During the reigns of her tyrants, she had acted with indolence and indifference, as knowing what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of a quite different kind; because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcæonidæ, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, seeing himself inferior in credit to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with seven hundred families of his adherents. But they soon returned with their leader, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority, and repenting also that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippias, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retired. They

then communicated their design in an assembly of the deputies of their allies, whose assistance and concurrence they were anxious to secure, in order to render their enterprise successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment that the Lacedæmonians, who were themselves avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere: he exposed to their view, in the fullest light, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, which his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing, and had no other effect than to discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every method to engage in a war against Athens; representing to him that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer than by a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the following volumes.

## ARTICLE IX.

### ILLUSTRIOUS MEN WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I begin with the poets, as the most ancient.

Homer, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge, either with respect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece that contended for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title to that glorious distinction.

Herodotus tells us,\* that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time [A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844.] that is, three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy; for Herodotus flourished seven hundred and forty years after that expedition.

Some authors have pretended that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. ‘If any man,’ says he, ‘believes that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and even have lost all his senses.’ Indeed, according to the observation of Cicero,† Homer’s works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader; and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords into his writings, and making them in a manner pass in review before his readers.

What is most astonishing in this poet is, that being the first, at least of those that are known, who applied himself to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should however soar so

\* Lib. ii. c. 53.

† Tuscul. Quæst. l. v. n. 114.

high and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.

The kind of poetry we are speaking of is the Epic Poem, so called from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this poem must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilion or Troy; and that of the second is the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poem comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have all taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be formed: ‘*Fons ingeniorum Homerus.*’\*

All the greatest men and the most exalted geniuses that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those whose writings we are still forced to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these, says Madame Dacier,† acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the model on which all succeeding poets should form their taste and judgment. After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they never so great, as reasonably to presume that his decisions should prevail against such an universal concurrence of judgment in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so uniform, and so universal, entirely justify Alexander the Great’s favourable judgment of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of the human mind: ‘*pretiosissimum humani animi opus.*’‡

Quintilian,§ after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words:—‘*Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superaverit. Idem lætus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis.*’ In great things, what a sublimity of expression; and in little, what a justness and propriety! Diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.

Hesiod.—The most common opinion is, that he was contemporary with Homer. It is said he was born at Cumæ, a town of Æolis, but that he was brought up at Ascera, a little town in Bœotia, which has since passed for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Ascera.¶ We know little or nothing of this poet but by the few remaining poems which he has left, all in hexameter verse; which are, 1st, ‘The Works

\* Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

† In Homer’s life, which is prefixed to her translation of the *Iliad*.

‡ Plin. l. vii. c. 29. § Quin. l. x. cap. 1. ¶ Eclog. vi. v. 70.



and Days ;' 2dly, 'The Theogony,' or the genealogy of the gods ;' 3dly, 'The Shield of Hercules : ' of which last some doubt whether it was written by Hesiod.

1. In the first of these poems, entitled, 'The Works and Days,' Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a due observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims, for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short, but lively description of two sorts of disputes ; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords, and wars ; and the other infinitely useful and beneficial to men, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then makes an admirable description of the four different ages of the world ; the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age. The persons who lived in the golden age are those whom Jupiter after their death turned into so many Genii\* or spirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commission to go up and down the earth, invisible to the sight of men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his Georgics, as he himself acknowledges in this verse :—

'Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.'†

'And sing the Ascrean verse to Roman swains.'

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of the wealth and plenty of a country. It is much to be deplored that in after ages a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence of manners, should have gone to decay. Avarice and luxury have entirely depressed it.‡ 'Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantum artes coluntur.'

2. 'The Theogony' of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose that these poets were the inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected and transmitted to posterity the traces of the religion which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. 'The Shield of Hercules' is a separate fragment of a poem, wherein it is pretended that Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity : and it bears that title, because it contains, among other things, a long description of the shield of Hercules, concerning whom the said poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. 'Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.'§

[A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 724.] Archilochus.—The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the Iambic verse, lived in the time of Candaules, king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer,

\* Δαίμονες.

† Geor. l. ii. v. 176.

‡ Plin. in Proëm. l. xiv.

§ Lib. i. c. 5.



according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry which he invented to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The Iambic verse, such as it is invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for a vehement and energetic style: accordingly we see that Horace, speaking of this poet, says, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his Iambics, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance.

‘Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.\*

And Quintilian says, he had an uncommon force of expression, was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are concise, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous. The longest of his poems were said to be the best. The world have passed the same judgment upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of his friend Atticus’s letters.

The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious;† wit-ness those he writ against Lycambes, his father-in-law, which drove him to despair. For this double reason, his poetry, how excellent soever it was reckoned in other respects, was banished out of Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and morals of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding. We have only some very short fragments remaining of this poet. Such a niceness in a heathen people, with regard to the quality of the books which they thought young persons should be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and will rise up in condemnation against many Christians.

Hipponax.—This poet was of Ephesus, and signalized himself some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of poetry, and with the same force and vehemence. He was ugly, little, lean, and slender. Two celebrated sculptors, who were brothers, Bupalus and Athenis (some call the latter Anthermus), diverted themselves at his expense, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire that they hanged themselves out of mortification: others say they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this! Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous. In the Anthologia‡ there are three or four epigrams which describe Hipponax as terrible even after his death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, *Φεῦγε τὸν χαλαζέπη τάφον, τὸν φρικτὸν*. ‘Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.’

It is thought he invented the Scazon verse, in which the Spondee is used instead of the Iambus in the sixth foot of the verse that bears that name.

Stesichorus.—He was of Himera, a city in Sicily, and excelled in Lyric poetry, as did those other poets of whom we are going to speak. Lyric poetry is that, the verses of which, digested into odes and stanzas, were sung to the lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished betwixt the 37th and 47th Olympiad. Pausanias,§ after many

\* Art. Poet. † Hor. Epod. Od. vi. & Epist. xix. l. i.

‡ Anthol. l. iii.

§ Paus. in Lacon. p. 200.

other fables, relates, that Stesichorus having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helen, did not recover it till he had retracted his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first; which latter kind of ode is since called 'Palinodia.' Quintilian says that he sung of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.

Alcman.—He was of Lacedæmon, or, as some will have it, of Sardis, in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

Alcæus.—He was born at Mitylene, in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he perpetually inveighed in his verses. It is said of him,\* that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms and ran away. Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself. Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. Quintilian says, that the style of Alcæus was close, magnificent, and chaste; and, to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.

Simonides.—This poet was a native of Ceos, an Island in the Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He excelled principally in elegy. The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere.† At twenty-four years of age he disputed for, and carried, the prize of poetry.

The answer he gave a prince who asked him, what God was, is much celebrated.‡ That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuse. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king, surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it. It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: 'Quia quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.' The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty, which no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.

After having travelled through many cities of Asia,§ and amassed considerable wealth by celebrating, in his verses, the praises of those who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what they could. Simonides did not encumber himself with any thing; and when he was asked the reason for it he replied, 'I carry all I have about me:' 'Mecum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.' Several of the company were drowned, being overwhelmed by the weight of the things they attempted to save, and those who got to shore were plundered by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomenæ, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of the citizens, who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was exceedingly pleased, and thought it an honour to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessaries, whilst the rest were obliged to beg through the city. The poet, upon meeting them,

\* Herod. l. v. c. 95. † Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres. ‡ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15. § Phæd. l. iv.

did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them in regard to his effects: 'Dixi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta; vos quod rapuistis, perit.'

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price to be paid for them. In Aristotle,\* we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the chariot races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule; and the poem was made. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty:

'Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.'

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and a horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them at first only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them 'illustrious foals of rapid steeds.' Χαίρετ' ἀλλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων.

Sappho.—She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining: these are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, number, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a further proof of her merit, she was called the Tenth Muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It were to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius; and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

Anacreon.—This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72d Olympiad. Anacreon spent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that fortunate tyrant of Samos;† and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council. Plato tells us,‡ that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be esteemed and relished as they deserved. It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems: nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

Thespis.—He was the first inventor of Tragedy. I defer speaking of him, till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

#### OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF GREECE.

These men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in this present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

Thales, the Milesian.—If Cicero is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men. It was he that laid the first foun-

\* Rhet. l. iii. c. 2. † Herod. l. iii. c. 121. ‡ In Hippar. p. 228, 229.



datlons of philosophy in Greece, and gave rise to the sect called the Ionic sect; because he, the founder of it, was of Ionia.

He held water to be the first principle of all things;\* and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were formed from water. The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who seeing the Nile to be the cause of the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy. He had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigness of the sun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had discovered, that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th part of the sun's body, and consequently, that the solid body of the sun was above 700 times bigger than the solid body of the moon. This computation is very far from the truth; as the sun's solidity exceeds, not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know, that in all these matters, and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

When Thales travelled into Egypt, he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramid†, by observing the time when the shadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.

To show that philosophers were not so destitute, as some people imagined,‡ of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business; and that they would be as successful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves to that pursuit, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletus before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in fact; and he made a considerable profit by his bargain.

He used to thank the gods for three things: that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her, it was then too soon; and after several years were elapsed, he told her, it was then too late.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch. Ha! says a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

[A. M. 3457. Ant. J. C. 547.] He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the first year of the 58th Olympiad: consequently he lived to be above ninety years of age.

Solon.—His life has been already related at length.

Chilo.—He was a Lacedæmonian: very little is related of him. Æsop asking him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? 'In humbling those,' says he, 'that exalt themselves, and exalting those that abase themselves.'

\* Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 25.

† Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

‡ Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 111.



He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son win the prize at boxing, in the Olympic games. He said when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life (an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher) ; unless it was once, when he made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend : in which action he did not know whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

**Pittacus.**—He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he drove the tyrant who had usurped the government out of that island.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent, conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him ; which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses, notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus's hands, who was so far from taking revenge that he gave him his liberty, and showed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority, and retired. He used to say, that the proof of a good government was to engage the subjects not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him. It was a maxim with him that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

**Bias.**—We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattes, king of Lydia, by a stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. The city was hard pressed with famine ; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and people. Bias, guessing their errand, had ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king of the great plenty of provisions they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege. One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.

**Cleobulus.**—We know as little of him as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes ; or, as some will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

Periander.—He is numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he writ to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, to know what measures he should take with his new acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where in walking along he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most powerful of the Corinthian citizens. But, if we may believe Plutarch,\* Periander did not relish so cruel advice.

He writ circular letters to all the wise men,† inviting them to pass some time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Cræsus. Princes in those days thought themselves much honoured when they could have such guests in their houses. Plutarch describes an entertainment which Periander gave these illustrious guests; and observes, at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and character of the persons entertained did him much more honour than the greatest magnificence could have done. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, and sometimes pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question:—Which is the most perfect popular government? ‘That,’ answered Solon, ‘where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body:’ ‘That,’ says Bias, ‘where the law has no superior:’ ‘That,’ says Thales, ‘where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor:’ ‘That,’ says Anacharsis, ‘where virtue is honoured, and vice detested:’ says Pittacus, ‘Where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked:’ says Cleobulus, ‘Where the citizens fear blame more than punishment:’ says Chilo, ‘Where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority than the orators.’ From all these opinions, Periander concluded, ‘that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.’

Whilst these wise men were assembled together at Periander’s court, a courier arrived from Amasis, king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was to consult him how he should answer a proposal made him by the king of Ethiopia, of his drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions: but if he did not do it, then he Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and puzzling questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer, on the condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea: for the business was only to drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I

\* In Conv. sept. sap.

† Diog. Laert. in vit. Periand.

have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, upon subjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics well worthy of the muses. Solon,\* however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us 'what judgment we ought to form of these pretended wise men of the pagan world.

Instead of some of these seven wise men which I have mentioned, some people have substituted others; as Anacharsis, for example, Myso, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The first of these is the most known in story.

Anacharsis.—Long before Solon's time the Nomad Scythians, were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality, temperance, and justice. Homer calls them a very just nation.† Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once having reproached him with his country: 'My country, you think,' replied Anacharsis, 'is no great honour to me; and you, Sir, are no great honour to your country.' His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He writ a treatise in verse upon the art military, and composed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He used to make visits to Solon. It was in conversation with him that he compared laws to cobwebs, which entangle only little flies, whilst wasps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Cræsus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him that he was able to mend his fortune. 'I have no occasion for your gold,' said the Scythian in his answer:—'I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue.' However, Anacharsis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

We have already observed,‡ that Æsop was much surprised and dissatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Cræsus; because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher wished to have reason to admire. 'Certainly,' says Anacharsis to Æsop on that occasion, 'you have forgotten your own fable of the fox and the panther. The latter, as her highest merit, could only show her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours; the fox's skin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtillies and stratagems of infinite value. This very image,' continued the Scythian, 'shows me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside whilst you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and consequently properly his.'

Æsop.—I join Æsop with the wise men of Greece; not only because he was often amongst them, but because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. He had abundance of wit; but was

\* Plut. in Solon. p. 79.

† Iliad. lib. N. v. 6.

‡ Plut. in Conv. sept. sap. p. 155.



terribly deformed; he was short, hunch-backed, and horridly ugly in face, having scarce the figure of a man; and for a very considerable time almost without the use of speech. As to his condition of life, he was a slave; and the merchant who had bought him found it very difficult to get him off his hands, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he had sent him to labour in the field; whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove so disagreeable an object out of his sight.

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the sprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master designing to treat some of his friends, ordered Æsop to provide the best of every thing he could find in the market. Æsop bought nothing but tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second courses, the side dishes, and the removes, were tongues. 'Did not I order you,' says Xanthus in a violent passion, 'to buy the best victuals the market afforded?' 'And have I not obeyed your orders?' says Æsop. 'Is there any thing better than a tongue? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the organ of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered: with that men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies: it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods.' 'Well then,' replied Xanthus, (thinking to catch him) 'go to market again to morrow, and buy me the worst of every thing: the same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment.' Æsop the next day provided nothing but the very same dishes; telling his master that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. 'It is,' says he 'the instrument of all strife and contention, the fomentor of law-suits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, calumny, and blasphemy.'

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the first uses he made of it was to go to Cræsus, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long desirous to see him. The strange deformity of Æsop's person shocked the king at first, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon shone forth through the coarse veil that covered it; and Cræsus found, as Æsop said on another occasion, that we ought not to consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

He made several voyages into Greece, either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of Cræsus. Being at Athens a short time after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty and abolished the popular government, and observing that the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of Æsop, such as we have them, are all his, at least in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to Planudes, who wrote his life, and lived in the fourteenth century.

Æsop is reckoned the author and inventor of this simple and natural



manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables ; in which light Phædrus speaks of him :—

‘ Æsopus auctor quam materiam reperit,  
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.’

But the glory of this invention is really due to the poet Hesiod ; an invention which does not seem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. Plato tells us,\* that Socrates, a little before he died, turned some of Æsop’s fables into verse ; and Plato himself† earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in it betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, and agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent disguise in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator certainly designing to instruct mankind, by the very prospect of nature, has endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations, and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man of the several duties incumbent upon him ; and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb ; of fidelity and friendship in the dog ; and, on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness, and cruelty in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger ; and so of the other species of animals ; and all this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man if he should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

This is a dumb language which all nations understand : it is a sentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about with him. Æsop was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold of and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men’s attention to this sort of simple and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties and maxims of society, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament ; but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they are more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diffused, but at the same time have a simplicity and elegance that very much resemble the Attic spirit and style in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Grecians. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity, has enlivened his fables with a sprightly and original

\* Plat. in Phæd. p. 60.

† Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 375.

turn of thought and expression, peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive why Seneca asserts as a fact that the Romans in his time had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death.\* He went to Delphi, with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer, in the name of Cræsus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a considerable sum.† A quarrel, which arose between him and the people of Delphi, occasioned him, after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Cræsus, and to inform him that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphi caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that to put an end to those evils, they caused it to be signified in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. At the third generation‡ a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop than being descended from the persons who had bought that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; 'to let all the people know,' says Phædrus,§ 'that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so honourable a distinction.'

' Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,  
Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,  
Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam,  
Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.'

\* De sera Numinis vindicta, p. 556, 557. † Four minæ, equal to 240 livres, or about 8*l.* 10*s.* ‡ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134. § Lib. ii.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

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# THE HISTORY

OF THE

## PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

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### CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, INTERMIXED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

BEFORE Darius came to be king, he was called Ochus.<sup>†</sup> At his accession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language, signifies an Avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty-six years.

SECT. I.—DARIUS'S MARRIAGES.—THE IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTES.—THE INSOLENT AND PUNISHMENT OF INTAPHERNES.—THE DEATH OF ORETES.—THE STORY OF DEMOCEDUS, A PHYSICIAN.—THE JEWS PERMITTED TO CARRY ON THE BUILDING OF THEIR TEMPLE.—THE GENEROSITY OF SYLOSON REWARDED.

Before Darius was elected king he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not known. Artabazanes, the eldest of the three sons whom he had by her, afterwards disputed the empire with Xerxes.

[A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 521.]—When Darius was seated in the throne,\* the better to secure himself therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atossa and Artistona. The former had been wife to Cambyses, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he possessed the throne. Artistona was still a virgin when Darius married her: and of all his wives was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyses's brother, as also Phedyma, daughter to Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed, at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius's horse, by an artifice of his groom, procured his master that honour. The king, desiring to transmit to future ages his gratitude for this signal service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up, with this inscription: 'Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse (whose name was inserted), and of his groom, Oebares.' There is in this inscription, in which we see the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his

\* Herod. l. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.      † Herod. l. iii. c. 88.

groom for so transcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit; there is, I say, in this inscription, a simplicity and sincerity strikingly characteristic of those ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of our own.

One of the first cares of Darius, when he was settled in the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time Cyrus and Cambyzes had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occasion for them. But Darius perceived that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him in peace and security, without keeping up regular forces; and equally impossible to maintain these forces, without assigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impositions upon the people.

In order therefore the better to regulate the administration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the satrap appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts. Herodotus gives an exact enumeration of these provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia, as also the coasts of the Mediterranean as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of country, there were several nations which were only tributary, and not properly subjects to Persia; as is the case at this day with respect to the Turkish empire.

History observes\* that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were interested in giving him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered, that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burthensome to the people. The king, however, was pleased to abate one half, choosing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is something odious in all imposts, the Persians, who had given the surname of father to Cyrus, and of master to Cambyzes, thought fit to characterize Darius by that of merchant.†

\* Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 172.

† Κάπηλος signifies something still more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to express it in our language. It may signify a broker or a retailer, any one that buys to sell again.



The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about forty four millions per annum French, or something less than two millions English money.

After the death of the Magian impostor,\* it was agreed that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him, should, besides several other marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of those noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage attacked the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scymitar. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy amongst the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, with his children, and all that were of his family, to be seized, and had them all condemned to death, confounding, through a blind excess of severity, the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances, the wife of the criminal went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king could not resist so moving a spectacle, and, besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family whom she should choose. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who desired, no doubt, to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation, she determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprised the king; and when he desired she might be asked the reason of it, she made answer, that by a second marriage the loss of a husband and children might be retrieved; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.

I have already related, in this volume, by what an instance of perfidiousness Oretes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out, that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons who had the misfortune to displease him. This satrap carried his insolence so far, as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the satrap had no less than a thousand soldiers for his guard, not to mention the forces he was able to raise from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity, and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis, where with great dexterity, he sounded the dispo-

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 118, 119.

sitions of the people. To pave the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon as he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to put the governor to death; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king; and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. This physician's story is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.

Not long after the forementioned transaction, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting,\* by which he wrenched one of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the most skilful in physic; for which reason the king had several of that nation about him.† These undertook to cure the king, and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion; but they were so awkward in the operation, and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in a very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him, whether he had any knowledge of physic? At first he denied he had, fearing, that if he should give any proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth; and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did, was to apply gentle fomentations to the part affected. This remedy had a speedy effect; the king recovered his sleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the sprain and the dislocation. To recompense the physician, the king made him a present of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes asked him, whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours by doubling his misfortunes? The king was pleased with that saying; and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might see the person to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very munificent presents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

Democedes was a native of Crotona,‡ a city of Græcia Magna in the lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father. He first went to Egina,§ where, by several successful cures, he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty minæ, and was worth about three

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 129, 130.      † Anciently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.      ‡ Herod. l. iii. c. 131.

§ An island between Attica and Peloponnesus.

thousand livres French money. Sometime after he was invited to Athens ; where they augmented his pension to five thousand livres\* per annum. After this he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of two thousand crowns.† It redounds much to the honour of cities or princes, by handsome pensions and salaries to engage such persons in their service as are of public benefit to mankind ; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians ; and next after the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the same time reputed to excel in music.

Democedes, after performing this cure upon the king,‡ was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came to have great influence at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been less skilful than the Grecian physicians ; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a strange abuse, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is seldom guided by reason or equity, and which, being accustomed to see every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature soever, should be instantly performed ! We have seen something of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himself had forgotten. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country, and his thoughts and desires were continually bent upon Greece.

He had the good fortune to perform another cure,§ which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain was moderate, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herself, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes ; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word and was cured. The favour desired by the physician was to procure him a journey into his own country : and the queen was not unmindful of her promise. It is worth while to take notice of such events, which, though not very considerable in themselves, often give occasion to the greatest enterprises of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them.

As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, as he was in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and had numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprise, and let the Persians see they had a man of courage for their king. You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius ; for I was meditating an attack upon the Scythians. I had much rather, says Atossa,

\*A hundred minæ. †Two talents. ‡ Herod. iii. 132. § Herod. iii. 135, 137.



you would first turn your arms against Greece. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides you have a person here that might be very useful to you in such an enterprise, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country: the person I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was resolved upon immediately. Fifteen Persian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places as thoroughly as possible. The king strictly charged those persons, above all things, to keep a watchful eye upon the physician, that he did not give them the slip, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius, in giving such an order, plainly showed he did not understand the proper methods for engaging men of abilities and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they spring. For one man of genius that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his design of sending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his service in conducting the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength: at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising, at his return, to give him as many of greater value; and signified to him further, that he would order the galley in which he was to sail to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared, by this manner of speaking, to be undisguised and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a snare laid for him, to discover whether he intended to return to Persia or not; and therefore, to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place the commissioners landed at was Sidon, in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large vessels for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board a transport. After having passed through and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum, in Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies; and Democedes, taking advantage of this arrest, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel; and the Persians, having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going through the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes let them know at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona,



whose name was very well known to the king. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence ; because, on their return home, they found the king engaged in other affairs.

In the third year of this king's reign [A. M. 3485. Ant. J. C. 519.] which was but the second according to the Jewish computation,\* the Samaritans gave the Jews new trouble. In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any farther in building of the temple of Jerusalem. But upon the earnest exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices to prevent them. To this end they applied to Tatnai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple ; which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interests. Upon this representation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem ; and being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any further deliberation, but inquired of the Jewish elders what licence they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus, he would not of himself ordain any thing in contradiction to it, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their justification, and desired him to order the registers to be consulted, to know whether Cyrus had really published such an edict, and to be pleased to send him instructions how he was to act in the affair. Darius having commanded the registers to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana, in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laudable ; but the Scripture informs us that it was God himself who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place it ordains that all the victims, oblations, and other expenses of the temple, be abundantly furnished the Jews as the priests should require ; in the second place, it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, when they offered their sacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preservation of the life of the king and the princes his children ; and lastly, it goes so far as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it : by all which Darius evidently acknowledges that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

\* Ezr. c. v.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorised to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expenses thereof were also to be furnished to them out of the taxes and imposts of the province. What must have become of the Jews, when the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves!

The same prince, some time after, gave a still more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence of informers, a detestable race of men, by their very nature and condition enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious that I mean the famous edict, published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews, at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vasthi, one of his wives. According to archbishop Usher, this Vasthi is the same person as is called by profane writers Atossa; and the Ahasuerus of the holy Scriptures the same as Darius; but, according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the sacred history: I have given, however, a brief account of it in this volume.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's memory; as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius, on a certain occasion, gave a very laudable instance. Syloson, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a suit of clothes, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleased Darius's fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyzes, whom he accompanied to Memphis, in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gates of his palace, and caused himself to be announced as a Grecian, to whom his majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprised at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he saw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor; and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure which might seem not to be much for his honour, that he ingenuously applauded the gentleman's generosity which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person from whom he could have no expectations; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Syloson desired; the love of his country was his predominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood of his citizens, by driving out the person that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.

## SECT. II.—REVOLT AND REDUCTION OF BABYLON.

[A. M. 3488. Ant. J. C. 516.]—In the beginning of the fifth year of Darius Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after a twenty months' siege. This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoke, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The

Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now God continued to accomplish those terrible threatenings he had denounced against Babylon; that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire; and they themselves were the first to put these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the siege was formed, as the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before,\* and Zechariah very lately, in the following terms:— ‘Thou Sion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thyself.’

The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of; which was, to destroy all such of their own people as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them; only every man was allowed to keep his best beloved wife, and one servant-maid to do the business of the family.

After this cruel execution the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid up, began to insult the besiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians, for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem were capable of, to make themselves masters of the city; nor did they forget to make use of the same means as had so happily succeeded with Cyrus some years before; I mean that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprised one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven lords that made the association against the Magians; to see him, I say, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body disfigured with wounds. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, ‘Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus?’ ‘You yourself, O king,’ replied Zopyrus; ‘the desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded that you never would have consented to this method, I took counsel alone of the zeal which I have for your service.’ He then opened to him his design of going over to the

\* Isa. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. S. li. 6, 9, 45. Zech. ii. 6—9.



enemy; and they settled every thing together that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city; and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before a city which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon: the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds, testified for him; and, by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore placed implicit confidence in whatsoever he told them, and gave him moreover the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made he cut off a thousand of the besiegers; a few days after he killed double the number; and on the third time four thousand of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus; the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and entrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means master of a city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompence for so great a service; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him, during life, the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the possession, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabyzus, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the Athenians, was the son to this Zopyrus; and that Zopyrus who went over to the Athenians as a deserter, was his grandson. No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, than he ordered the hundred gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never be in a condition to rebel more against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing three thousand of those who were principally concerned in the revolt to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the rest. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he caused fifty thousand women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those whom the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in



falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws, and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land; where they imposed a most grievous yoke of servitude upon them, and made use of all their power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be styled his peculiar people.

**SECTION III.—DARIUS PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS.—A DIGRESSION UPON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT NATION.**

[A. M. 3490. Ant. J. C. 514.]—After the reduction of Babylon\* Darius made great preparations for war against the Scythians; who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tanaïs. His pretence for undertaking this war was to be revenged of that nation for the invasion of Asia by their ancestors; a very frivolous and sorry pretext, and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased a hundred and twenty years before. Whilst the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight-and-twenty years, the Scythians' wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles fought with nearly equal loss on both sides, the masters considering that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them upon the foot of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect; for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I design in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

**A DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE SCYTHIANS.**

Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lie towards the North. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

Historians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. One while they represent them as the justest and most moderate people in the world; another while they describe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carried its cruelty to such excesses, as are shocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof that those different characters are to be applied to different nations in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

Strabo has quoted authors† who mention some Scythians dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all strangers who came amongst them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking

\* Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

† Strabo l. vii. p. 298.

vessels of their skulls, when they had dried them. Herodotus,\* in describing the sacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, says, they used to offer human victims. Their manner of making treaties according to this author's account, was very strange and particular.† They first poured wine into a large earthen vessel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, uttering the heaviest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.‡

But what the same historian relates,§ concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, his secretary of state, who were all put to death for that purpose. To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking vessels, and a certain part of all the furniture belonging to their deceased monarch; after which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and, having first prepared their bodies for the purpose, by embowelling them and stuffing them with straw, they placed the officers on horseback round the king's tomb, probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies in all appearance took their rise from a notion they might have of their king's being still alive; and upon this supposition they judged it necessary that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much sought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to pass to the consideration of their manners and customs, milder and more humane; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally savage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from Justin.|| According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands amongst themselves, says Justin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; since they did not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses, nor settled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their

\* Herod. l. iv. c. 62.

† Ibid. l. iv. c. 70.

‡ This custom was still practised by the Iberians, who were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it. Ann. l. xii. c. 47.

§ Herod. c. 71, 72.

|| Lib. ii. c. 2.

flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were all the houses they had to dwell in. Justice was observed and maintained amongst them through the natural temper and disposition of the people, and not by any compulsion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more severely punished among them than theft; and that with good reason. For their herds and flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of liuen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themselves from the violent and continual cold of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians might appear to some people very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themselves with eating the milk, and neglect the flesh? The wool of their sheep might supply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But that which is the greatest demonstration of their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver, which have always been had in such great request in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vastly preferable this savage state to our pretended politeness! This contempt of all the conveniences of life, says Justin, was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbours' goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! The world would not then have seen wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. It is a surprising thing, says he, that a happy natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should have inspired the Scythians with such a wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more happy effects were produced by the ignorance of vice in the one, than by the knowledge of virtue in the other!

The Scythian fathers thought with good reason that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another.\* One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to

\* Plut. de garrul. p. 511.



each of them one after another a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken. Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord. In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic advantages, the Scythians used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations.\* Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from that which nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Ancient authors seem to have vied with each other who should most extol the innocence of manners that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace I shall transcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, who were their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age in which he lived. After having told us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous building, he adds, 'A hundred times happier are the Scythians, who roam about in their itinerant houses, their waggons; and happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the earth, without being divided by land-marks, produceth her fruits, which are gathered in common. There each man's tillage is but of one year's continuance; and when that term of his labour is expired, he is relieved by a successor who takes his place, and manures the ground on the same conditions. There the innocent step-mothers form no cruel designs against the lives of their husbands' children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to domineer over their husbands on account of their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the insinuating language of spruce adulterers. The greatest portion of the maiden is her father's and mother's virtue, her inviolable attachment to her husband, and her perfect disregard of all other men. They dare not be unfaithful, because they are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is death.'

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather for despising, the use of gold and silver? Is it not to be wished that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence to become the causes and instruments of almost every crime? What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of men actually require, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities? It is no wonder, that, living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting:

\* Lucian. in *Tex.* p. 51.



or that they should despise fine clothes and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly say, that these pretended advantages contribute to the real happiness of life? Were those nations that had them in the greatest plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? Or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge, to the shame of ancient philosophy; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, carried it however to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, humanly speaking, truly deserved that title; as health, strength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, and abhorrence of all fraud and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions, we could add the knowledge and love of the true God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them 'the most just and upright of men.'

But at length (who could believe it?) luxury, which might be thought to thrive only in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant.

It is Strabo that acquaints us with this particular,\* which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After having greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all deceit and even dissimulation, he owns, that their intercourse in later times with other nations had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations would only have been that of rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity, which they had before: but, instead of that, it introduced a total ruin of their ancient manners, and transformed them into quite different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus says,† the Scythians abandoned themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the same time that they suffered self-interest and avarice to prevail amongst them.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny,

\* Lib. vii. p. 301.

† Lib. xii. p. 524.

but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, says he, has perverted almost all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure amongst them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miserable talent, and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius turned his arms. This expedition I am now going to relate.

#### SECT. IV.—DARIUS'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS.

I have already observed,\* that the pretence used by Darius for undertaking this war against the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Asia: but in reality he had no other end than to satisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conquests.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his side, had no less zeal for the true interests of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments with all the freedom that an affair of such importance required. ‘Great prince,’ says he to him, ‘they, who form any great enterprise, ought carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution of it will be easy or difficult; whether it be likely to augment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent with, or contrary to, the rules of justice. For my own part, I cannot perceive, Sir, even though you were sure of success, what advantage you can propose to yourself in undertaking a war against the Scythians. Consider the vast distance between them and you; and the prodigious space of land and sea that separates them from your dominions: besides, they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that have no fixed settlement, or place of habitation; and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What have your troops to gain from such an expedition? or, to speak more properly, what have they not rather to lose?’

‘Accustomed as the Scythians are to remove from country to country, if they should think proper to fly before you, not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a design to harass and ruin your army by continual and fatiguing marches; what will become of us in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we shall neither find forage for our horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, Sir, that through a false notion of glory, and the insinuations of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happiness. You are sensible the gods have placed you upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or to speak more properly to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than the minister of their power. You pride yourself upon being

\* Herod. l. iv. c. 83—96.

the protector, the guardian, and the father of your subjects: and you often declare to us, because you really believe so, that you look upon yourself as invested with sovereign power, only to make your people happy. What exquisite joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the source of so many blessings; and under the shadow of your name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so desirable a tranquillity! Is not the glory of a king who loves his subjects, and is beloved by them, who, instead of waging war against neighbouring or distant nations, makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity with each other; is not such a glory infinitely preferable to that of ravaging and spoiling a country, of filling the earth with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation, and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you than all others, I mean that of justice. Thanks to the gods, you are not of the number of those princes, who acknowledge no other law than that of force, and who imagine that they have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity, which private persons have not, of invading other men's properties. You do not make your greatness consist in being able to do whatever you will, but in willing only what may be done without infringing the laws, or violating justice. To speak plain, shall one man be reckoned unjust, and a robber, for seizing on a few acres of his neighbour's estate; and shall another be reckoned just and great, and have the title of hero, because he seizes upon and usurps whole provinces? Permit me, Sir, to ask you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury have the Scythians done you? What reason can you allege for declaring war against them? The war indeed, in which you have been engaged against the Babylonians was at the same time both just and necessary: the gods have accordingly crowned your arms with success. It belongs to you, Sir, to judge whether that which you are now going to undertake, be of the same nature.'

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince and the good of his country, could inspire such a freedom: as, on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius, as Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things which are generally incompatible, the sovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men; and his fleet, consisting of six hundred ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations that dwelt upon the sea coast of Asia Minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus, which he passed upon a bridge of boats: after which, having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, 'the best and handsomest of all men living.' What vanity! what a littleness of soul was this!

And yet if this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable than they



do, at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects. But how shall we reconcile Darius's disposition,\* which seemed to be so exceeding humane and gentle, with his barbarous and cruel behaviour towards Oebazus, a venerable old man, whose merit, as well as quality, entitled him to respect? This nobleman had three sons, who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Susa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. 'One,' replied Darius, 'will not be sufficient for you; I will leave you all the three:' and immediately he caused them all to be put to death.

When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of boats,† the king was for having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops as was necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a necessary resource, in case the war with the Scythians should prove unfortunate. The king acquiesced, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave at the same time to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months; he then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

As soon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching against them, they immediately entered into a consultation upon the measures necessary to be taken. They were very sensible, that they were not in a condition to resist by themselves so formidable an enemy. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring nations, and desired their assistance, alleging, that the danger was general, and concerned them all, and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand; others absolutely refused to enter into a war which, they said, did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

One wise precaution taken by the Scythians, was to place their wives and children in safety,‡ by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country: and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves, but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they marched, in conjunction with their allies, against the enemy, not with a view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places as suited best their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the country; and thereby drew them on from place to place, into the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, whose lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

Darius, weary of these tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent a herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathysus, with this mes-

\* Herod. l. iv. c. 84. Senec. de Ira, c. 16.

† Herod. l. iv. c. 99, 101.

‡ Ibid. c. 120, 125.

sage in his name: 'Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost thou continually fly before me? Why dost thou not stop somewhere or other, either to give me battle, if thou believest thyself able to encounter me, or, if thou thinkest thyself too weak, to acknowledge thy master, by presenting him with earth and water?' The Scythians were a high spirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and professed enemies to all slavery. Indathysus sent Darius the following answer: 'If I fly before thee, prince of the Persians, it is not because I fear thee: What I do now, is no more than what I am used to do in time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to defend: if thou hast a mind to force us to come to an engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and thou shalt find what manner of men we are. As to the title of master, which thou assumest, keep it for other nations than the Scythians. For my part, I acknowledge no other master than the great Jupiter one of my own ancestors, and the goddess Vesta.'

The farther Darius advanced into the country, the greater hardship his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremity, there came a herald from the Scythian prince, who was commissioned to present to Darius a bird, a mouse, and five arrows. The king desired to know the meaning of those gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by the mouse and frog; as also their cavalry; whose swiftness was represented by the bird; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobryas, one of the seven lords that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: 'Know,' says he to the Persians, 'that unless you can fly in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth like mice, or dive under the water like frogs, you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians.'

And, indeed, the whole Persian army, marching in a vast, uncultivated, and barren country, completely destitute of water, was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin: nor was Darius himself exempt from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and deserted country.

The king afterwards did not forget this benefactor; to reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return to Asia, he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence, for which reason the place was called Gaugamele, that is, in the Persian tongue, 'the Camel's habitation.' It was near the same place that Darius Codomannus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

Darius deliberated no longer, finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his rash enterprise.† He began then to think in earnest of returning home; and saw but too plainly, that there was no time to be lost. As soon therefore as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as usual; and leaving the old

\* Strabo, l. vii. p. 305. et l. xvi. p. 737.

† Herod. l. iv. c. 124, 140.

men and the sick behind them in the camp, together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they set out upon their march, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone till the next morning; whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment to the Danube: this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses beforehand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country; and the latter had promised to do it, but without designing to execute their promise. The Scythians now pressed them to it more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time prescribed by Darius for staying there was elapsed; that they were at liberty to return home, without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprises against any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades the Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant, of the Chersonesus of Thrace, at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those that accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships for his enterprise. Having the public interest more at heart than his private advantage, he was of opinion, that they should comply with the request of the Scythians and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia: all the other commanders acquiesced in his sentiments, except Hystiæus, the tyrant of Miletus. When it came to his turn to speak, he represented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection that each of them was master in his own city; and if the power of the Persians should sink or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs were influenced by his opinion; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the public good. They resolved therefore to wait for Darius; but in order to deceive the Scythians and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them, that they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request: and the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

They missed Darius, who had taken a different route from that in which they expected to come up with him.\* He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube; and finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that, consequently, he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hystiæus, the Milesiun, who at last answered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyzus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent

\* Herod. l. iv. c. 141, 144.



the winter and the greatest part of the year following, in order to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

Megabyzus continued some time in Thrace; whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the discretion to unite their forces, and to choose one chief commander.\* Some of them had very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of the misery which the newborn infant had to experience; while, on the other hand, on the death of any of their family, they all rejoiced, because they looked upon the deceased person as happy only from that moment wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives which of them was best beloved. She in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him: whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

Darius, on his return to Sardis,† after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learnt for certain that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystiæus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour in recompense of his service. Hystiæus hereupon desired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted; and he returned to Miletus, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project in building a city.

Megabyzus, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius,‡ immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and barbarians, who were able to furnish great numbers of men for land and sea service; that, if one of those people were under the guidance of a leader so skilful and enterprising as Hystiæus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection; especially considering that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any project they might think fit to form. At his return to Sardis he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystiæus to come to Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Susa, making him believe that he set an extraordinary value upon a friend of such fidelity and understanding; two qualifications that rendered him very dear to him, and of which he had

\* Herod. l. v. c. 1.

† Ib. c. 11 &amp; 23.

‡ Ib. c. 23 &amp; 25.

given such memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition ; giving him to understand, at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hystiæus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern at Miletus in his room.

Whilst Megabyzus was still in Thrace,\* he sent several Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his master : this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another. Amyntas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. Towards the end of an entertainment which he made for them, they desired that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country : however, the king would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen, being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore, upon some pretence or other, he contrived to send the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently, and had the precaution to get the king, his father, also out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be drest like women, and to be armed with poinards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others ; and when the Persians began to treat them as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poinards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa ; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter ; but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that nothing came of it.

The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube and ravaged all the part of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus ; but after the enemy retired, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

#### SECT. V.—DARIUS'S CONQUEST OF INDIA.

[A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.]—About the same time, that is, in the thirteenth year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. To this end, he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Capsatyræ, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of Scythia.† The command of this fleet was given to Scylax,‡ a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down that river,

\* Herod. l. v. c. 17 & 21.

† Asiatic Scythia is meant.

‡ There is a geographical treatise entitled *Περὶ πλοῦς*, and composed by one Scylax of Caryandia, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country on both sides quite down to the mouth of the river; to pass from thence into the Southern Ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the West, and so return back that way to Persia. Scylax having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Capsatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the same port from whence Necho, king of Egypt, had formerly sent the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coasts of Africa. Very probably this was the same port where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his discoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and subjected all that vast country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But Herodotus says not one word about it; he only tells us,\* that India made the twentieth province, or government, of the Persian empire, and that the annual revenue accruing from hence to Darius was three hundred and sixty talents of gold, which amount to near eleven millions of livres French money, something less than five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

#### SECT. VI.—THE REVOLT OF THE IONIANS.

[A. M. 3500. Ant. J. C. 504.].—Darius, after his return to Susa from his Scythian expedition,† had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzus.

From a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxus,§ a great flame arose, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxus was the most important island of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition the principal inhabitants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletus, and implored the assistance of Aristagoras, to reinstate them in their native place. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystiæus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiles the assistance they desired.

But not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis, and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxus under the power of Darius: that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades would fall of themselves into his hands, one after another; that in consequence the isle of Eubœa (now Negropont) which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near them, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and the means of subjecting all that country; and, in short, that a hundred ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprise. Artaphernes was so pleased with the project, that instead of one hundred vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him two hundred, in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

\* Herod. l. iii. c. 94.

† Lib. v. c. 25.

‡ Ibid. c. 28 & 34.



The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprise, though founded only upon injustice and a boundless ambition, as also upon perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. No consideration gave him a moment's pause. The most injurious project is formed and accepted without the least reluctance or scruple: motives of advantage and convenience solely determine. The isle lies convenient for the Persians: this is conceived a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and to surprise the people of Naxos, he spread a report that this fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus under the command of Megabates, a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Achæmenes. But being directed in his commission to obey the orders of Aristagoras, the high-spirited Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one who treated him in a haughty and imperious manner. This pique occasioned a breach between the two generals, which rose so high that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. Upon which they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

This project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian instantly foresaw that this accident would be attended not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation to which he was reduced, made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design than a messenger came to him from Hystiæus, who gave him the same counsel. Hystiæus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of accomplishing his wish, and therefore gave Aristagoras that counsel. He flattered himself that in case any troubles arose in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them; and, in fact, the thing happened according to his expectation. As soon as Aristagoras found his design seconded by the orders of Hystiæus he imparted them to the principal persons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly in making preparations for it.

[A. M. 3502. Ant. J. C. 502.] The people of Tyre, having been reduced to slavery when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy,\* to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty

\* And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire. Isa. xxiii. 17.

of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from that city (which was so powerful by sea) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection. This was in the 19th year of Darius's reign.

The next year, Aristagoras, in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, reinstated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where by his example, his influence, and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same in every city. They complied the more readily, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a state of independence, and professed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.

To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour,† Aristagoras went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his interest, and engage it to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the son of Anaxandrides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three sons besides Cleomenes, namely, Doriæus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two last of which ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Aristagoras then addressed himself to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king's residence: he showed him, at the same time, a plan of all the nations and towns through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days' time to consider of his proposals. That term being expired, he asked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian Sea to Susa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Aristagoras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have upon Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was about three months journey.† Cleomenes was so

\* Herod. l. v. c. 38, 41, 49, and 51.

† According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the parasanga, a Persian measure, to contain 30 stadia, the distance from Sardis to Susa is 450 parasangas, or 13,500 stadia, which make 675 French leagues (for 20 stadia are generally reckoned to one of our common leagues). So that by travelling 150 stadia per day, which make seven leagues and a half,

amazed at this proposal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before sun-set. Aristagoras nevertheless followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents. The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thousand livres French money: that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifty talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made, cried out: 'Fly, father, fly, this stranger will corrupt you.' Cleomenes laughed, but yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired: Aristagoras left Sparta.

From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he found a more favourable reception.\* He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion. Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, who, about ten years before, had been banished, after having tried in vain abundance of methods for his re-establishment, at last went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he said to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city were violently enraged against the Persians. Aristagoras, coming thither just at this juncture, easily obtained all he desired. Herodotus remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude, than upon a single person: and so Aristagoras found it; for he prevailed with thirty thousand Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design: and it may be truly said, that this little fleet was the original source of all the calamities, in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

[A. M. 3504. Ant. J. C. 500.] In the third year of this war,† the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, and being reinforced with the twenty vessels furnished by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, and leaving their ships there, they marched by land to the city of Sardis: finding the place in a defenceless condition, they soon made themselves masters of it; but the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible, an Ionian soldier having set fire to one house, the flames soon spread and communicated to the rest, and reduced

French measure, it is ninety days' journey from Sardis to Susa. If they set out from Ephesus it would require about four days more; for Ephesus is 540 stadia from Sardis.

\* Herod. l. v. c. 55, 96, 97.

† Herod. l. v. c. 99, 103.



the whole city to ashes. Upon this accident the Persians and Lydians, assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all possible diligence, in order to reembark at Ephesus: but the Persians arriving there almost as soon as they, attacked them vigorously, and destroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ships, would never engage any more in this war, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Aristagoras.

Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis,\* and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, he resolved from that very time to make war upon Greece; and that he might never forget this resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night when he was at supper, 'Sir, remember the Athenians.' In the burning of Sardis it happened that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of that country, was consumed with the rest of the city. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the temples they found in Greece; to which they were likewise induced by a religious motive, which I have explained before.

[A. M. 3505. Ant. J. C. 499.]—As Aristagoras, the head and manager of this revolt,† was Hystiæus's lieutenant at Miletus, Darius suspected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conspiracy; for which reason he entered into a free conference with him upon the subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the just grounds he had for his suspicion. Hystiæus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely surprised and afflicted; and speaking in a tone that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation, 'Is it then possible, Sir,' said he to the king, 'for your majesty to have entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and most affectionate of your servants? I concerned in a rebellion against you! Alas! What is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in your court? And besides the honour I have of assisting at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me?' After this he insinuated that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had staid at Miletus, the conspiracy would never have been formed; that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that province, would be to send him thither to quell the insurrection; that he promised him, on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Aristagoras into his hands; and engaged, besides all this, to make the large island of Sardinia‡ tributary to him. The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject in their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they easily undeceive themselves. Darius, imposed upon by the air of sincerity with which Hystiæus spoke on this occasion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to

\* Herod. l. v. c. 105.

† Ibid. c. 105 & 107.

‡ This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe it must be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.

Ionla, on condition he came back to the Persian court as soon as he had executed what he promised.

The revolters, in the mean time, though deserted by the Athenians,\* and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with resolution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium, with the greater part of the other Grecian cities, in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as also the people of Cyprus. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.

When Hystiæus was arrived at Sardis, his intriguing temper induced him to form a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians.† But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis, and retired secretly the night following to the isle of Chios; from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis, with letters for such of the Persians as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining that he could bring about some enterprise of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletus, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

There being asked why he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any such design. The artifice however served his purpose extremely well, not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For, being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration, they came to a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.

[A. M. 3507. Ant. J. C. 497.]—Artaphernes and Otanes, with the rest of the Persian generals,‡ finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces: concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletus, and to furnish it to the utmost of their power with provisions, and all things necessary for enduring a siege; and to unite all their forces to engage the Persians at sea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe that they should have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Lade, a small isle over against Miletus, where they assembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three vessels.

\* Herod. l. v. c. 103, 104, 108, and 122. † Herod. l. vi. c. 1—5.

‡ Herod. l. vi. c. 6—10, 31, and 33.

At the sight of this fleet the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: so that when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above a hundred vessels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almost entirely destroyed. After this the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after Aristagoras's revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the sea coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily or by force. Those persons that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace; and the young women were all sent to Persia; the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystiæus.

The latter of these two had his share also in the general calamity;\* for that same year he was taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystiæus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive, who might create the Persians new troubles. It appeared by the sequel that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hystiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatness of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hystiæus was one of those restless, bold, and enterprising spirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that promote the end they have in view: who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as mere empty names: who make no scruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery or even perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who reckon the ruin of nations, or even their own country, as nothing, if necessary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his sentiments, and such as is common enough to these irreligious politicians, who sacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, than their interest and fortune.

#### SECT. VII.—THE EXPEDITION OF DARIUS'S ARMY AGAINST GREECE.

[A. M. 3510. Ant. J. C. 494.]—Darius, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The

\* Herod. l. vi. c. 29, 30.



king did not show much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, because he was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality, indeed, that might augment his influence, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land forces after having passed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, submitted. But his fleet attempting to double mount Athos (now called Capo Santo) in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked by so violent a storm, that upwards of three hundred ships, with above twenty thousand men, perished in the sea. His land army met at the same time with no less fatal a blow. For, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius perceiving, too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earnestly bent upon putting in execution the great design he had long had in his mind, which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance on the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprise against Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

1. THE STATE OF ATHENS. THE CHARACTERS OF MILTIADES, THEMISTOCLES, AND ARISTIDES.—Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time, which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon; as also to form some idea beforehand of the great men who shared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yoke of servitude which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years, under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices: and growing jealous of the tranquillity she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it by endeavouring to reinstate Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill-will, and her grief to see Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must re-establish Hippias in his authority, unless they chose rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeeded no better than the first, and Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals sent by Darius against Greece

Athens, from the time of the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different kind of spirit. Among the citizens,\* Miltiades distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon, an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half-brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Ægina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a person of great credit even in the time of Pisistratus: but, as he could not endure the yoke of a despotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to settle with a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He, dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stesagoras, his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stesagoras dying also without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, sent his brother Miltiades, the person we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor: He arrived there, and established himself in the government in the same year that Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube; and it was he who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and to return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married Hegesipyla,† daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked, and took all that he had on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired great reputation.

At the same time two other citizens, younger than Miltiades,‡ began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon the model of Clisthenes, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had greatly contributed to the restoring it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratidæ out of that city. It was an excellent custom among the ancients, and which it were to be wished might prevail amongst us, that the young men, ambitious of public employments, particularly attached themselves to such aged and experienced persons, as had distinguished themselves most eminently therein; and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach them the art of conducting themselves, and governing others with wisdom and discretion. Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthenes, and Cimon to Aristides; and he enumerates several others, and among the rest Polybius, whom we have mentioned so often, and who in his youth was the constant disciple, and faithful imitator, of the celebrated Philopœmen.

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions: but

\* Herod. l. vi. 34, 41. Corn. Nep. in Mil. cap. i—iii.

+ After the death of Miltiades this princess had by a second husband a son, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the historian.—Herod.

‡ Plut. in Arist. p. 319, 320; and in Them. p. 112, 113. An seni sit ger. Resp. p. 790, 791.

they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends; behaving himself with great affability and complaisance to every body, always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very nice about the means he used to oblige them. Somebody talking with him once on this subject,\* told him he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more impartial, and if he was not biassed in favour of one more than another:—‘God forbid,’ replied Themistocles, ‘I should ever sit upon a tribunal where my friends should find no more credit or favour than strangers.’ Cleon, who appeared some time after at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and entertaining no very high opinion of them. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends but his passions that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, whom he greatly admired, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expense of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends’ recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them to require the same from him on the like occasion. He used to say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours, we are not to wonder, if, during the administration of these great men, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising, was sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other’s designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should gain too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried aloud as he went out of the assembly, ‘that the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum;’ the Barathrum was a pit into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown. But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies;† and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit,

\* Cic. de Senect. Plut. An seni sit. ger. Resp. p. 806, 807.

† Plut. Apophthegm. p. 186.



The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, of which we shall speak presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles generally appeared very thoughtful and melancholy; he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, 'that Miltiades's trophies would not let him sleep.' These were a kind of spur which never ceased to goad and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms, and the love of martial glory wholly engrossed him.

As for Aristides, the love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for, was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes to which those who have the administration of affairs are exposed; for he was neither elevated with the honours conferred upon him, nor cast down at the contempt and disappointment he sometimes experienced. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness and temper, being persuaded that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general esteem in which he was held for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of *Æschylus's* plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verse which describes the character of *Amphiaraus*, 'He does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so,' the whole audience cast their eyes upon Aristides, and applied the eulogium upon him.

Another thing related of him, with respect to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer-general of the republic, than he made it appear that his predecessors in that office had cheated the state of vast sums of money; and among the rest Themistocles in particular; for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts, Themistocles raised a powerful faction against him, accused him of having embezzled the public treasure, and prevailed so far as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgment was reversed and the fine remitted, but he was elected treasurer again for the year ensuing. He then seemed to repent of his former administration; and by showing himself more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that plundered the commonwealth. For, as he neither reproved them, nor narrowly inspected their accounts, all those plunderers, grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extolled Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; especially as he had to do with officers, who for their part were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him

continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time of election was come, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up, and warmly reproved the Athenian people:— ‘What,’ says he, ‘when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying return; and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all these robbers of the public, I am an admirable man, and the best of citizens !. I cannot help declaring to you that I am more ashamed of the honour you do me this day than I was of the condemnation you passed against me this time twelvemonth; and with grief I find that it is more glorious with us to be complaisant to knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic.’ By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers, and gained the esteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious Athenians, who began to display the extent of their merit, when Darius turned his arms against Greece.

2. DARIUS SENDS HERALDS INTO GREECE, IN ORDER TO SOUND THE PEOPLE, AND TO REQUIRE THEM TO SUBMIT.—[A. M. 3511. Ant. J. C. 493.]—Before this prince would directly engage in this enterprise, he judged it expedient, first of all, to sound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different states stood affected towards him. With this view he sent heralds into all parts of Greece, to require earth and water in his name: this was the form used by the Persians when they exacted submission from those they were desirous of bringing under subjection. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands; and among these were the inhabitants of Ægina, a little isle, over against and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of Ægina was looked upon as a public treason. The Athenians represented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of Ægina refused to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself suggested that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family; and succeeded in his attempt by the assistance of the priestess of Delphi, whom he had suborned to give an answer favourable to his designs. Demaratus, not being able to endure so gross an affront, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable establishment in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the custody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphi being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set those prisoners at liberty, but they refused.

The Persian heralds that went to Sparta and Athens, were not so favourably received as those that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take thence earth and water. I should be less surprised at

this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, rash, impetuous, and violent; where reason is seldom heard, and every thing determined by passion. But I do not here recognise the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded; but to treat public officers in such a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. If what historians say on this head be true,\* the crime did not remain unpunished. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.

**3. THE PERSIANS DEFEATED AT MARATHON BY MILTIADES. THE MELANCHOLY END OF THAT GENERAL.**—[A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.] Darius immediately sent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their instructions were to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. They set sail with a fleet of five or six hundred ships,† and an army of five hundred thousand men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the Ægean sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants; they reduced it entirely to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia. Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly,‡ and gave them a village in the country of Cissia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where Apollonius Tyanæus found some of their descendants six hundred years afterwards.§

After this success at Eretria, the Persians advanced towards Attica.|| Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea-side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know that not an inhabitant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to surrender immediately. The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly, and without deliberation; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient custom and a superstitious maxim amongst them, that did not admit them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, so great

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 135 & 136. Paus. in Lacon. p. 182 & 183.

† Plut. in Moral. p. 829. ‡ Herod. l. vi. c. 119. § Philostr. l. i. c. 17.

|| Herod. l. vi. c. 102—120. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. iv—vi. Justin. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321.



terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platææ alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which had never been done there before this occasion.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse: that of the Athenians amounted in all but to ten thousand men. It was headed by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great dispute among these generals whether they should hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within their wall. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reasonable. For, what appearance of success could there be in facing with a handful of soldiers so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and showed that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought some of the other commanders into it, so that when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both sides of the question. Hereupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callimachus, who was then Polemarch,\* and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands; and that his single vote was to determine whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or be enslaved; and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Aristogiton, the authors of that liberty which the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced that word in favour of Miltiades's opinion; and accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

Aristides, reflecting that a command which changes every day must necessarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to-itself, and incapable either of projecting or executing any uniform design, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in one single person; and to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the love of the public good; and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it in one's self. Miltiades, however, thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two sides of his army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover

\* The Polemarch at Athens was both an officer and a considerable magistrate, equally employed to command in the army and to administer justice. I shall give a larger account of this officer in another place.

his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible that the place was not advantageous for him; but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely superior to that of the Athenians, and, besides, not being willing to stay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As soon as the signal of battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small, and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner; which may seem somewhat astonishing. And, indeed, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some measure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity? and that the soldiers having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, exhausted, and in disorder, when they came up to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order, and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain their charge advantageously? This consideration engaged Pompey,\* at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops steady, and to forbid them making any movement till the enemy made the first attack; but Cæsar blames Pompey's conduct† in this respect, and gives this reason for it: that the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage, inspires the soldiers with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, gives an additional force to their blows, and increases and inflames their courage, which, by the rapid movement of so many thousand men together, is blown up and kindled, if I may use that expression, like flames by the wind. I leave it to military men to decide the point between those two great captains, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep; the reason of which seems manifest enough. Having but ten thousand men to oppose such a multitude of the enemy, it was impossible for him either to make an extensive front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined that he could gain the victory no otherwise than by the efforts he should make with his two wings, to break and disperse those of the Persians; not doubting but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the same plan as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest effort particularly upon their front. This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported the attack a long time with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Persians. The scale was

\* Cæs. in Bell. Civil. l. iii. † Plut. in Pomp. p. 656. et in Cæs. p. 719.

quickly turned, and the barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to flight, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither, and set many of their vessels on fire. It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, who had laid hold of one of the ships, in order to get into it with those that fled, had his right hand cut off,\* and fell into the sea and was drowned. The Athenians took seven ships. They had not above two hundred men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas on the side of the Persians about six thousand were slain, without reckoning those who fell into the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those that were consumed with the ships set on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his aid against his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himself at the head of its enemies, to reduce that city to ashes to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with everlasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the just reward of so black a treachery.

Immediately after the battle,† an Athenian soldier, still reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army, and ran to Athens to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrates' house, he only uttered two words, 'Rejoice, the victory is ours,'‡ and fell down dead at their feet.

The Persians had thought themselves so secure of victory,§ that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess Nemesis,|| who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to re-enter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country, and performed their march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great exertion for an army that had just undergone a long and severe battle. By this means the design of the Persians miscarried.

Aristides, the only general that staid at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and silver were scattered

\* Justin adds, that Cynægirus, having first had his right and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the vessel with his teeth, and would not let go so violent was his rage against the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the least appearance of truth.

† Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 347. ‡ *Χαίρετε, Χαίρομεν*. I could not render the liveliness of the Greek expression in our language.

§ Paus. l. i. p. 62. || This was the goddess whose business it was to punish injustice and oppression.



about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich clothes and costly furniture; and treasure of all kinds to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindered every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonias began their march with two thousand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days' forced march; the distance from Sparta to Attica being no less than twelve hundred stadia, or one hundred and fifty English miles. The battle was fought the day before they arrived:\* however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered by a foolish and ridiculous superstition from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost without example that such a handful of men, as the Athenians were, should not only make head against so numerous an army as that of the Persians, but should entirely rout and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power attack so small a city and miscarry; and we are almost tempted to question the truth of an event that appears so improbable, which nevertheless is very certain. This battle alone shows what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of soldiers that are not afraid of death; by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; a hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

Plato, in more places than one,† makes it his business to extol the battle of Marathon, and is desirous that action should be considered as the source and original cause of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Persian power of that terror which had rendered them so formidable, and had made every thing stoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number as the courage of troops; that set before their eyes, in a most conspicuous light, the glory there is in sacrificing one's life in defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty; and lastly, that inspired them, through the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm desire to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of that little army of heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

Those that were slain in the battle, had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit.‡ Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There

\* Isocr. in Panegyr. p. 113. † In Menex. p. 239, 240. Et lib. iii. de Leg. p. 698 et 699.

‡ Paus. in Attic. p. 60, 61.

were three distinct sets of monuments separately erected, one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the same place.

The reflection Cornelius Nepos makes\* upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue by marks of distinction neither pompous nor magnificent, which however were rarely granted, and for that very reason were highly esteemed : whereas now they are so profusely bestowed, that little or no value is set upon them. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that, in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in later ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

Plutarch makes the same reflection,† and wisely observes, that the honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark of the esteem in which they are held, the remembrance whereof such monuments are intended to perpetuate. It is not then the stateliness or magnificence of public monuments which give them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those that erect them. The three hundred statues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own life-time, but the picture in which Miltiades's courage was represented was preserved many ages after him.

This picture was kept at Athens,‡ in a gallery adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters ; which, for that reason, was called Poecile, from the Greek word ποικίλη, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time, painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it ; and, as he valued himself upon his reputation, and was more attached to glory than interest, he did it gratuitously, and would not receive any recompense for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a sort of coin that was more acceptable to his taste, by procuring an order from the Amphictyon which assigned him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleasure.

The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration.§ After the battle of Marathon, he had desired and obtained the command of a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the barbarians. Accordingly he reduced several of them : but having had ill success in the isle of Paros, and upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet ; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having

\* Cor. Nep. in. Milt. c. vi.

† In præc. de rep. ger. p. 820.

‡ Plin. xxxv. 9. § Herod. vi. 132, et 136. Cor. Nep. in. Milt. vii. et viii.

raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given him by the king of Persia. Little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless prevailed over the merit and innocence of Miltiades. He was condemned to lose his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrum;\* a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favour shown to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns French money, being the sum to which the expenses of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his solicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his courage. He purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thousand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised, as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner with regard to Miltiades, was his very merit and great reputation, which made the people, who were but lately delivered from the yoke of slavery under Pisistratus, apprehend that Miltiades, who had formerly been tyrant of the Chersonesus, might affect the same at Athens. They therefore chose rather to punish an innocent person than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him. To this same principle was the institution of the ostracism at Athens owing. I have elsewhere given an account of the most plausible reasons upon which the ostracism could be founded:† but I do not see how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal.

This appears plainly in the banishment of Aristides.‡ His inviolable attachment to justice obliged him on many occasions to oppose Themistocles, who did not pique himself upon his delicacy in that respect, and who spared no intrigues and cabals to engage the suffrages of the people, for removing a rival who always opposed his ambitious designs. In this instance it was evident that a person may be superior in merit and virtue, without being so in influence. The impetuous eloquence of Themistocles prevailed over the justice of Aristides, and occasioned his banishment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave the suffrages by writing the name of the accused person upon a shell, called in Greek *ὄστρακον*, from whence came the term Ostracism. On this occasion, a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides, applied to him, and desired him to put the name of Aristides upon his shell. 'Has he done you any wrong,' says Aristides, 'that you are for condemning him in this manner?' 'No,' replied the other, 'I do not so much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him the Just.' Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote his name in it, and returned it. He set out for his banishment, imploring the gods that no accident might befall his country, to make it regret him. The great Camillus, in a like case, did not imitate his generosity, and prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrate-

\* Plat. in Gorg. p. 516. † Method of Teaching, &c. vol. iii. p. 407.

‡ Plut. in Arist. p. 322, 323.



ful country, by some misfortune, to have occasion for his aid, and recall him, as soon as possible.

O fortunate republic, exclaims Valerius Maximus,\* speaking of Aristides's banishment, which after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, was yet able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service!—'Felices Athenas, quæ post illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!'

**SECT. VIII.—DARIUS RESOLVES TO MAKE WAR IN PERSON AGAINST EGYPT AND AGAINST GREECE; IS PREVENTED BY DEATH.—DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO OF HIS SONS CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN.—XERXES IS CHOSEN KING.**

When Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon, he was violently enraged;† and that bad success was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he dispatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire to arm themselves for this expedition.

[A. M. 3517. Ant. J. C. 487.]—After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems from what we read in Diodorus Siculus,‡ that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded. That historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest told him 'He had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror;' and that the king, far from being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius, detesting the impious cruelty which his predecessor Cambyses had exercised in that country, expressed great reverence for their gods and temples, that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government: and that having learnt of them with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But Herodotus,§ more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes that this prince, resolving at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies, determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the main body of his army, whilst the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

[A. M. 1359. Ant. J. C. 485.]—According to the ancient custom among the Persians,|| their king was not allowed to go to war, without having first named the person that should succeed him in the throne; a custom wisely established to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a successor, to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the

\* Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. † Herod. l. vii. c. 1. ‡ Lib. i. p. 54 & 55.

§ Lib. vi. c. 2. || Ibid. c. 2 & 3.

more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a dispute between two of his sons on the subject of succeeding to the empire, which might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's accession to the throne; Artabazanes, called by Justin Artamenes, was the eldest of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that, as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him in preference to all the rest. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the son of Darius by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one that was not. Demaratus, the Spartan king, who had been unjustly deposed by his subjects, and was at that time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions—that Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private person, all he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first-born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He further supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom but those children that were born after their father's accession. The right of succession was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

Justin and Plutarch place this dispute after Darius's decease.\* They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers in a point of so much delicacy. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent when the king died: and Xerxes immediately assumed all the marks, and exercised all the functions, of the sovereignty. But upon his brother's return, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and showed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any further appeal, to acquiesce in his decision. All the while this dispute lasted the two brothers showed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem and confidence for each other banished all fears and suspicions on both sides; and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration: to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes, the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which pro-

\* Justin. l. ii. c. 10. Plut. de frat. amore, p. 458.

ceeding he showed a greatness of soul truly loyal and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent: no; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the nearest relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamis.

To whatever time this dispute is to be placed,\* it is certain that Darius could not carry into execution the double expedition he was meditating against Egypt and Greece, and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project. He had reigned thirty-six years. The epitaph of this prince, which contains a boast that he could drink much without disordering his reason, proves that the Persians actually thought that circumstance for their glory. We shall see in the sequel that Cyrus the Younger ascribes this quality to himself, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in these times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of a good prince?

Darius had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. For such is the condition of princes, that they never act nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they do, either as to good or evil, they do it for the people; and the interests of the one and the other are inseparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people; he loved justice, and respected the laws: he esteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the holy Scripture speaks,† where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court. He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: he said of himself,‡ that the most imminent and urgent danger served only to increase his courage and his prudence. In a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if indeed it be glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyses and the Magian impostor, but he likewise added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the isles contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius's usual gentleness and good-nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while

\* Herod. I. vi. c. 4.

† Esth. i. 13.

‡ Plut. in Apoph. p. 172.



the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice than what his brother gave him upon that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom or prudence? What do we see in all that affair but a prince intoxicated with his greatness, who fancies there is nothing in the world that can resist him; and whose weak ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest had stifled all the good sense, judgment, and even military knowledge, he formerly displayed?

What constitutes the solid glory of Darius's reign is, his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of his history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

## CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF XERXES, CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

Xerxes's reign lasted but twelve years, but it abounds with great events.

**SECT. I.—XERXES, AFTER HAVING REDUCED EGYPT, MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR CARRYING ON THE WAR INTO GREECE.—HE HOLDS A COUNCIL.—THE PRUDENT SPEECH OF ARTABANES.—WAR IS RESOLVED UPON.**

Xerxes having ascended the throne,\* [A. M. 3519. Ant. J. C. 485.] employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations began by his father, for the reduction of Egypt. He also confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for the supplying them with victims for the service of the temple of God.

In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having defeated and subdued those rebels, he made the yoke of their subjection the more heavy; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achæmenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.

Herodotus, the famous historian, was born this same year at Halicarnassus in Caria.† For he was fifty-three years old when the Peloponnesian war first began.

[A. M. 3521. Ant. J. C. 483.]—Xerxes, puffed up with his success against the Egyptians,‡ determined to make war against the Grecians. (He did not intend, he said, to have the figs of Attica,§ which were very excellent, bought for him any longer, because he would eat no more of them till he was master of the country.) But before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and take the advice of all the greatest and most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the designs he had in making war against Greece, and acquainted them with his motives; which were, the desire

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 5. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 5. † Aul. Gel. l. xv. c. 23.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 8—18, § Plut. in Apoph. p. 173.

of imitating the example of his predecessors, who had all of them distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprises; the obligation he was under to revenge the insolence of the Athenians, who had presumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduce it to ashes; the necessity he was under to revenge the disgrace his country had received at the battle of Marathon; and the prospect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of Europe, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added farther, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and consequently that he only followed and executed his intentions; he concluded with promising ample rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by their valour in the expedition.

Mardonius, the same person that had been so unsuccessful in Darius's reign, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and extremely anxious to obtain the command of the army, was the first who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings that had gone before or should succeed him. He endeavoured to show the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name: he disparaged the Grecians, and represented them as a cowardly, timorous people, without courage, without forces, or experience in war. For a proof of what he said, he mentioned his own conquest of Macedonia, which he exaggerated in a very vain and ostentatious manner, as if that people had submitted to him without any resistance. He presumed even to affirm that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out against Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Asia; and that if they had the temerity to present themselves before him, they would learn to their cost that the Persians were the bravest and most warlike nation in the world.

The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering discourse was extremely agreeable to the king, were afraid to contradict it, and all kept silence. This was almost an unavoidable consequence of Xerxes's manner of proceeding. A wise prince, when he proposes an affair in council, and really desires that every one should speak his true sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no constraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty. Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly discovered his own inclination, or rather resolution, to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who, being eager to insinuate themselves into favour and to please, and ever ready to comply with his inclinations, will not fail to second his opinion with specious and plausible reasons; whilst those that would be capable of giving good counsel are restrained by fear; there being very few courtiers who love their princes well enough, and have sufficient courage to venture to displease him by disputing what they know to be his taste or opinion.

The excessive praises given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which is the usual language of flatterers, ought to have made the king distrust him, and apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent desire he had to command the army. But these sweet and flattering words, which glide like a serpent under flowers, are so far from displeasing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not consider that

men flatter and praise them, because they believe them weak and vain enough to suffer themselves to be deceived by commendations that bear no proportion to their merit and actions. This behaviour of the king made the whole council mute. In this general silence, Artabanes, the king's uncle, a prince very venerable for his age and prudence, had the courage to make the following speech:—'Permit me, great prince,' says he, addressing himself to Xerxes, 'to deliver my sentiments to you on this occasion with a liberty suitable to my age and to your interest. When Darius, your father, and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. I need not tell you what that enterprise cost, or what was the success of it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than the Scythians. The Grecians are esteemed the very best in the world, either by land or sea. If the Athenians alone were able to defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from all the states of Greece united together? You design to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a bridge over the sea. And what will become of us if the Athenians, proving victorious, should advance to this bridge with their fleet, and break it down? I still tremble when I consider, that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the king your father, and the safety of all his army, were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of one single man; and that if Hystiæus the Milesian had, in compliance with the urgent suggestions made to him, consented to break down the bridge which had been laid over the Danube, the Persian empire had been entirely ruined. Do not expose yourself, Sir, to the like danger, especially since you are not obliged to do it. Take time at least to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have no blame to impute to ourselves. Precipitation, besides its being imprudent, is almost always unfortunate, and attended with fatal consequences. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with the vain splendour of imaginary glory, or with the pompous appearance of your troops. The highest and most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. As God alone is truly great, he is an enemy to pride, and takes pleasure in humbling every thing that exalteth itself: and very often the most numerous armies fly before a handful of men, because he inspires the one with courage, and scatters terror among the others.'

Artabanes, after having spoken thus to the king, turned himself towards Mardonius, and reproached him with his want of sincerity or judgment, in giving the king a notion of the Grecians so directly contrary to truth; and showed how extremely he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war which nothing but his own views of interest and ambition could tempt him to advise. 'If a war be resolved upon,' added he, 'let the king, whose life is dear to us all, remain in Persia: and do you, since you so ardently desire it, march at the head of the most numerous army that can be assembled. In the mean time, let your children and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer for the success of the war. If the issue of it be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death:\* but if it prove otherwise, as I well foresee it will, then I

\* Why should the children be punished for their father's faults?



desire that your children, and you yourself, on your return, may be treated in such a manner as you deserve, for the rash counsel you have given your master.'

Xerxes, who was not accustomed to have his sentiments contradicted in this manner, fell into a rage. 'Thank the gods,' says he to Artabanes, 'that you are my father's brother; were it not for that, you should this moment suffer the just reward of your audacious behaviour. But I will punish you for it in another manner, by leaving you here among the women, whom you too much resemble in your cowardice and fear, whilst I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory call me.'

Artabanes had expressed his sentiments in very respectful and moderate terms: Xerxes nevertheless was extremely offended. It is the misfortune of princes, spoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing as dry and austere, that is sincere and ingenuous, and to regard all counsel delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom, as a seditious presumption. They do not consider that even a good man never dares to tell them all he thinks, nor discover the whole truth; especially in things that may be disagreeable to them: and that what they stand most in need of, is a sincere and faithful friend, that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himself very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man born with that degree of generosity, who certainly ought to be considered as the most valuable treasure of the state, as he is, if the expression may be admitted, both the most necessary, and at the same time the most rare, instrument of government.

Xerxes himself acknowledged this upon the occasion we are speaking of. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that had been given him, he confessed he had been to blame to give his uncle such harsh language, and was not ashamed to confess his fault the next day in open council; ingenuously owning, that the heat of youth, and his want of experience, had made him negligent in paying the regard due to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanes, both for his age and wisdom; and declaring at the same time; that he was come over to his opinion, notwithstanding a dream he had had in the night, wherein a phantom had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that war. All who composed the council, were delighted to hear the king speak in this manner; and to testify their joy, they fell prostrate before him, striving who should most extol the glory of such a proceeding; nor could their praises on such an occasion be at all suspected. For it is no hard matter to discern, whether the praises given to princes proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only as an effect of mere flattery and deceit. That sincere and humiliating acknowledgement made by the king, far from appearing as a weakness in him, was looked upon by them as the effort of a great soul, which rises above its faults, in bravely confessing them, by way of reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleness of this procedure the more, as they knew that princes educated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtiness and false glory, are never disposed to own themselves in the wrong, and generally make use of their authority to justify, with pride and obstinacy, whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. We may venture, I think, to say, that it is more glorious to rise in this

manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the same time more rare and uncommon, than to see a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greatest prosperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without seeking pretexts or excuses to cover them; pay homage to truth, even when it is against him and condemns him; and leave other princes, who have a false delicacy concerning their grandeur, the shame of always abounding with errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any.

The night following, the same phantom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the same solicitations with new menaces and threatenings. Xerxes communicated what passed to his uncle; and, in order to find out whether this vision proceeded from the gods or not, entreated him earnestly to put on the royal robes, to ascend the throne, and afterwards to take his place in his bed for the night. Artabanes hereupon discoursed very sensibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams, and then coming to what personally regarded him,—‘I look upon it,’ says he, ‘almost equally commendable to think well one’s self, and to hearken with docility to the good counsels of others. You have both these qualities, great prince; and if you followed the natural bent of your own temper, it would lead you solely to sentiments of wisdom and moderation. You never take any violent measures or resolutions but when the arts of evil counsellors urge you into them, or the poison of flattery misleads you; in the same manner as the ocean, of itself calm and serene, is never disturbed but by the extraneous impulse of other bodies. What afflicted me in the answer you made me the other day, when I delivered my sentiments freely in council, was not the personal affront to me, but the injury you did yourself, by making so wrong a choice between the different counsels that were offered; rejecting that which led you to sentiments of moderation and equity; and embracing the other, which, on the contrary, tended only to nourish pride, and to inflame ambition.’

Artabanes, through complaisance, passed the night in the king’s bed, and had the same vision which Xerxes had before; that is, in his sleep he saw a man, who severely reproached him, and threatened him with the greatest misfortunes if he continued to oppose the king’s intentions. This so much affected him that he came over to the king’s first opinion, believing that there was something divine in these repeated visions; and the war against the Grecians was resolved upon. These circumstances I relate, as I find them in Herodotus.

Xerxes in the sequel did but ill support this character of moderation. We shall find in him only transient rays of wisdom and reason, which shine forth but for a moment, and then give way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. We may judge, however, even from thence, that he had very good natural parts and inclinations. But the most excellent qualities are soon spoiled and corrupted by the poison of flattery, and the possession of absolute and unlimited power:—‘*Vi dominationis convexus.*’\*

It is a fine sentiment in a minister of state to be less affected with an affront to himself, than with the wrong done his master by giving him evil and pernicious counsel.

\* Tacit.

Mardonius's counsel was pernicious ; because, as Artabanus observes, it tended only to nourish and increase that spirit of haughtiness and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, *ἔβριμ αὐξούσης* ; and because it disposed and accustomed his mind still to carry his views and desires beyond his present fortune, still to be aiming at something farther, and to set no bounds to his ambition. This is the predominant passion of those men whom we usually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the holy Scripture, we might call, with great propriety, 'robbers of nations.\*' If you consider and examine the whole succession of Persian kings, says Seneca, will you find any one of them that ever stopped his career of his own accord ; that was ever satisfied with his past conquest ; or that was not forming some new project or enterprise, when death surprised him ? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition, adds the same author ; for ambition is a gulf and a bottomless abyss, wherein every thing is lost that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the mighty void.

SECT. II.—XERXES BEGINS HIS MARCH, AND PASSES FROM ASIA INTO EUROPE, BY CROSSING THE STRAITS OF THE HELLESPONT UPON A BRIDGE OF BOATS.

[A. M. 3523. Ant. J. C. 481.] The war being resolved upon, Xerxes, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at the time the most potent people of the West, and made an agreement with them, that whilst the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Grecian colonies that were settled in Sicily and Italy, in order to hinder them from coming to the aid of the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himself with raising as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money that Xerxes had sent him, engaged a great number of soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, in his service ; so that he collected an army of three hundred thousand men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league.

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet Daniel's prediction,† having through his great power and his great riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece, that is to say, of all the west under the command of Amilcar, and of all the east under his own banner,‡ set out from Susa, in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place of rendezvous for the whole land army, whilst the fleet advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

Xerxes had given orders to have a passage cut through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Macedonia, now a province in Turkey in Europe, which extends a great way into the Archipelago, in the form of a peninsula. It is joined to the land only by an isthmus of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the sea in this place was very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. Xerxes made this his

\* Jer. iv. 7.

† Dan. xi. 2.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 26.



pretext for the orders he gave for cutting through the mountain: but the true reason was the vanity of signalizing himself by an extraordinary enterprise, and by doing a thing that was extremely difficult: as Tacitus says of Nero: 'Erat incredibilium cupitor.' Accordingly, Herodotus observes, that this undertaking was more vain-glorious than useful, since he might with less trouble and expence have had his vessels carried over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days. The passage he caused to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars each pass through it abreast. This prince, who was extravagant enough to believe, that all nature and the very elements were under his command,\* in consequence of that opinion, wrote a letter to mount Athos in the following terms: 'Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones, which cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou givest them that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea.' At the same time he ordered his labourers to be scourged, in order to make them carry on the work the faster.

A traveller who lived in the time of Francis the First,† and who wrote a book in Latin concerning the singular and remarkable things he had seen in his travels, doubts the truth of this fact; and takes notice, that as he passed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces of the work we have been speaking of.

Xerxes, as we have already related,‡ advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia, and passed the river Halys, he came to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, near which is the source of the Mæander. Pythius, a Lydian, had his residence in this city, and next to Xerxes was the most opulent prince of those times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with an incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expences of his expedition. Xerxes, surprised and charmed at so generous an offer, had the curiosity to enquire to what sum his riches amounted. Pythius made answer, that with the design of offering them to his service, he had taken an exact account of them, and that the silver he had by him amounted to two thousand talents§ (which make six millions French money); and the gold to four millions of daricks,|| wanting seven thousand (that is to say, to forty millions of livres, wanting seventy thousand, reckoning ten livres French money to the darick). All this money he offered him, telling him that his revenues were sufficient for the support of his household. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgments, entered into a particular friendship with him, and that he might not be outdone in generosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept as a present the seven thousand daricks, which were wanting to make up his gold a round sum of four millions.

After such a conduct as this, who would not think that Pythius's¶ peculiar characteristic and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world; and who, besides his sordid avarice with regard

\* Plut. de ira cohib. p. 455.

† Bellon. singul. rer. observ. p. 78.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 26, 29.

§ About 255,000*l.* sterling.

|| About 1,700,000*l.* sterling.

¶ Plutarch calls him Pythis. Plut. de virt. mulier. p. 262.

to himself, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging in the gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, his subjects went with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. Commiserating their condition, she made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear notion and a palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but what in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver; and the prince, in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities, could not satisfy his hunger. He easily divined the meaning of this enigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of; and that to neglect, as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tilling of the land, by employing all his people in digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future, therefore, he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. Plutarch has preserved this fact in a treatise, wherein he has collected a great many others to prove the ability and industry of ladies. We have the same disposition of mind noticed in fabulous story, in the example of a prince,\* who reigned in this very country, for whom every thing that he touched was immediately turned into gold, according to the request which he himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.

The same prince,† who had made such obliging offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him some time afterwards, that out of his five sons who served in the army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age; the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused the eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving him to understand, it was a favour that he spared the lives of him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice. What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind! How is it possible to have any dependence upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of gratitude and service?

From Phrygia, Xerxes marched to Sardis, where he spent the winter.‡ From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which, as we have taken notice before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.

As soon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. Being arrived there,§ he wished to have the pleasure of seeing a naval engagement. A throne was erected for him upon an eminence: and in that situation, seeing all the sea

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 38, 39. Sen. de ira, l. iii. 3. 17.

† Midas, king of Phrygia. ‡ Herod. vii. 30—32. § Ibid. c. 44. et 46.

crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he at first felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, in surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and considering himself as the most happy of mortals ; but reflecting soon afterwards, that of so many thousands, in a hundred years' time there would not be one living soul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and instability of human things. He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war.

Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness for his people, took advantage of this moment, in which he found him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, and led him into further reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy ; endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes, who, not being able to prolong the natural life of their subjects, ought at least to do all that lies in their power to alleviate the troubles and allay the bitterness of it.

In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle if he still persisted in his first opinion, and if he would still advise him not to make war against Greece, supposing he had not seen the vision, which occasioned him to change his sentiments. Artabanus owned he still had his fears ; and that he was very uneasy concerning two things. What are those two things ? replied Xerxes. The land and the sea, says Artabanus : the land, because there is no country that can feed and maintain so numerous an army ; the sea, because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels. The king was very sensible of the strength of this reasoning ; but as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great undertakings men ought not so narrowly to examine all the inconveniencies that may attend them ; that if they did, no signal enterprises would ever be attempted ; and that if his predecessors had observed so scrupulous and timorous a rule of policy, the Persian empire would never have attained its present height of greatness and glory.

Artabanus gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he no more thought fit to follow than he had the former : this was, not to employ the Ionians in his service against the Grecians, from whom they were originally descended, and on which account he ought to suspect their fidelity. Xerxes, however, after these conversations with his uncle, treated him with great friendship, paid him the highest marks of honour and respect, sent him back to Susa to take the care and administration of the empire upon him during his own absence, and to that end invested him with his whole authority.

Xerxes, at a vast expence, had caused a bridge of boats to be built upon the sea,\* for the passage of his forces from Asia into Europe. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, and now called the straits of the Dardanelles, or of Gallipoli, is seven

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 33—36.



stadia in breadth, which is near an English mile. A violent storm arose on a sudden, and broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a transport of rage; and in order to avenge himself for so cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and his men to give it three hundred strokes of a whip, addressing it in this manner:—‘Thou troublesome and unhappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for having affronted him without reason. Know that Xerxes will easily find means to pass over thy waters in spite of all thy billows and resistance.’ The extravagance of this prince did not stop here; but making the undertakers of the work answerable for events, which do not in the least depend upon the power of man, he ordered all those persons to have their heads struck off that had been charged with the direction and management of that undertaking.

Xerxes commanded two other bridges to be built, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. He appointed workmen more able and expert than the former, who went about it in this manner:—They placed three hundred and sixty vessels across, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars apiece, with their sides turned towards the Euxine sea; and on the side that faced the Ægean sea, they put three hundred and fourteen. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix and secure all these vessels against the violence of the winds, and against the current\* of the water. On the east side they left three passages or vacant spaces between the vessels, that there might be room for small boats to go and come easily, as there was occasion, to and from the Euxine sea. After this upon the land on both sides they drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp, and four of a sort of reeds called βίβλος, which were made use of in those times for the making of cordage. Those that were made of hemp must have been of an extraordinary strength and thickness, since every cubit of those cables weighed a talent.† The cables laid over the whole extent of the vessels lengthwise, reached from one side to the other of the sea. When this part of the work was finished, quite over the vessels from side to side, and over the cables we have been speaking of, they laid the trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and planks again over them, fastened and joined together, to serve as a kind of floor or solid bottom: all which they covered over with earth, and added rails or battlements on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at seeing the sea in their passage. This was the mode of constructing those famous bridges built by Xerxes.

When the whole work was completed, a day was appointed for their passing over. And as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly spread over both of the bridges, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured

\* Polybius remarks, that there is a current of water from the lake Mæotis and the Euxine Sea into the Ægean Sea, occasioned by the rivers which empty themselves into those two seas. Pol. l. iv. p. 307—8.

† A talent in weight consisted of 60 minæ, that is to say, of 42 pounds of our weight; and the minæ consisted of 100 drachms.



*Verres Ordering the Sea, to be chastised!*

*London, F. H. & Co. 3, St. James's Place, 4, Pall Mall Lane*





out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in the enterprise he had undertaken, and desired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conquest of Europe, and had brought it into subjection to his power; this done he through the vessel, which he had used in making his libations, together with a golden cup, and a Persian scymitar, into the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over these straits; those who were appointed to conduct the march, lashing the poor soldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their speed, according to the custom of that nation, which, properly speaking, was only a huge assembly of slaves.

**SECT. III.—ENUMERATION OF XERXES' FORCES.—DE-MARATUS DELIVERS HIS SENTIMENTS FREELY UPON THAT PRINCE'S ENTERPRISE.**

Xerxes directing his march across the Thracian Chersonesus,\* arrived at Doriscus, a city standing at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace; where having encamped his army, and given orders for his fleet to follow him along the shore, he reviewed them both.

He found the land army, which he had brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot and fourscore thousand horse, which, with twenty thousand men that were absolutely necessary at least for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, made in all eighteen hundred thousand men. When he had passed the Hellespont, the nations that submitted to him made an addition to his army of three hundred thousand men; which made all his land forces together amount to two millions one hundred thousand men.

His fleet, when it set out for Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels of war, all of three banks of oars. Each vessel carried two hundred men, natives of the country that fitted them out, besides thirty more, that were either Persians or Medes, or of the Saccæ; which made in all two hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred and ten men. The European nations augmented his fleet with a hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men, in all four and twenty thousand: these added to the other, amounted together to three hundred and one thousand six hundred and ten men.

Besides this fleet, which consisted all of large vessels. the small galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the transport ships, the vessels that carried the provisions, and that were employed in other uses, amounted to three thousand. If we reckon but eighty men in each of these vessels, one with another, that made in the whole two hundred and forty thousand men.

Thus when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ his land and sea forces together made up the number of two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, which usually follow an army, and whose number at this time was equal to that of the forces; so the whole number of those that followed Xerxes in this expedition amounted to five millions two hundred eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty. This is the computation which Herodotus makes of them, and in which Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him. Diodorus

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 56—99, & 181—187.

Siculus, Pliny, Ælian, and others,\* fall very short of this number in their calculation: but their accounts of the matter appear to be less authentic than that of Herodotus, who lived in the same age in which this expedition was made, and who repeats the inscription engraved, by the order of the Amphictyons, upon the monument of those Grecians who were killed at Thermopylæ, which expressed that they fought against three millions of men.

For the sustenance of all these persons there must be every day consumed, according to Herodotus's computation,† above a hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni of flour (the medimnus was a measure which, according to Budæus, was equivalent to six of our bushels), allowing for every head the quantity of a chœnix, which was the daily allowance that masters gave their slaves among the Grecians. We have no account in history of any other army so numerous as this. And amongst all these millions of men, there was not one that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comeliness of his face or the tallness of his person. But this is a poor merit or pre-eminence for a prince, when attended with no other. Accordingly Justin, after he has mentioned the number of the troops, adds, that this vast body of forces wanted a chief:—‘Huic tanto agmini dux deficit.’

We should hardly be able to conceive how it was possible to find a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an immense number of persons, if the historian had not informed us‡ that Xerxes had employed four whole years in making preparations for this expedition. We have seen already how many vessels of burden there were that coasted along continually to attend upon and supply the land army: and doubtless there were fresh ones arriving every day that furnished the camp with a sufficient plenty of all things necessary.

Herodotus acquaints us with the method of which they made use to calculate the forces,§ which were almost innumerable. They assembled ten thousand men in a particular place, and ranked them as close together as was possible; after which they described a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle, about half the height of a man's body; when this was done they made the whole army successively pass through this space, and thereby knew to what number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us also a particular account of the different armour of all the nations that constituted this army. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective country, the land army was under the command of six Persian generals, viz. Mardonius, the son of Gobryas; Tirintatechmes, the son of Artabanus, and Smerdones, son to Otanes, both near relations to the king; Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa; Gergis, son of Ariazes: and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had its particular commanders.

There were likewise four Persian generals who commanded the fleet. In Herodotus|| we have a particular account of all the nations by which it was fitted out. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who since the death of her husband governed the kingdom for her son, that was still a

\* Diod. l. xi. p. 3. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 3.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 187. ‡ Ibid. c. 20. § Ibid. c. 60. || Ibid. c. 89, 99

minor, brought but five vessels along with her ; but they were the best equipped and the lightest ships in the whole fleet, next to those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished herself in this war by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus observes that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice and such wise counsel as this queen : but he was not prudent enough to profit by it.

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and sea, he asked Demaratus if he thought the Grecians would dare to wait for him. I have already taken notice that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being exiled by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and beneficence. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise that a king should suffer himself to be banished,\* and desired him to acquaint them with the reason of it :—‘ It is,’ says he, ‘ because at Sparta the law is more powerful than the kings.’ This prince was very much esteemed in Persia ; but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country.† As soon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now being obliged on this occasion to speak his sentiments, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan and a king of Sparta.

Demaratus,‡ before he answered the king’s question, desired to know whether it was his pleasure that he should flatter him, or that he should speak his thoughts to him freely and sincerely. Xerxes having declared that he desired him to act with the utmost sincerity—‘ Great prince,’ says Demaratus, ‘ since it is agreeable to your pleasure and commands, I shall deliver my sentiments to you with the utmost truth and sincerity. It must be confessed that, from the beginning of time, Greece has been trained up, and accustomed to poverty ; but then she has introduced and established virtue within her territories, which wisdom cultivates, and the vigour of her laws maintains. And it is by the use which Greece knows how to make of this virtue that she defends herself equally against the inconveniences of poverty and the yoke of servitude. But, to speak only of the Lacedæmonians, my particular countrymen, you may assure yourself, that as they are born and bred up in liberty, they will never hearken to any proposals that tend to slavery. Though they were deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and reduced to a band of a thousand men, or even a more inconsiderable number, they still will come out to meet you, and not refuse to give you battle.’ Xerxes upon hearing this discourse fell a laughing ; and as he could not comprehend how men in such a state of liberty and independence, as the Lacedæmonians were described to enjoy, who had no master to force and compel them to it, could be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to danger and death ; Demaratus replied—‘ The Spartans, indeed, are free, and under no subjection to the will of any man ; but at the same time they have laws, to which they are subject, and of which they stand in greater awe than your subjects do of your majesty. Now by these laws they are

\* Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220. † Amicior patriæ post fugam quam regi post beneficia.—Justin.

‡ Herod. l. vii. c. 101, 105.



forbidden never to fly in battle, let the number of their enemies be never so superior; and are commanded, by abiding firm in their post, either to conquer or to die.\*

Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Demaratus spoke to him, and continued his march.

**SECT IV.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS SEND TO THEIR ALLIES TO REQUIRE SUCCOURS FROM THEM, BUT TO NO PURPOSE.—THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET GIVEN TO THE LACEDÆMONIANS.**

Lacedæmon and Athens, which were the two most powerful cities of Greece, and those against which Xerxes was most exasperated, were not indolent or asleep whilst so formidable an enemy was approaching.† Having received intelligence long before of the designs of this prince, they had sent spies to Sardis, in order to gain more exact information as to the number and quality of his forces. These spies were seized, and as they were just going to be put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave orders that they should be conducted through his army, and then sent back without any harm being done to them. At their return the Grecians understood what they had to apprehend from so potent an army.

They sent deputies at the same time to Argos, into Sicily to Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succours from them, and to form a league against the common enemy.

The people of Argos offered a very considerable succour,‡ on condition that they should have an equal share of the authority and command with the Lacedæmonians. The latter consented that the king of Argos should have the same authority as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and mischiefs are not men led by a mistaken point of honour, and a foolish jealousy of command! The Argives were not contented with this offer, and refused to assist the allied Grecians, without considering that if they suffered them to be destroyed, their own ruin must inevitably follow that of Greece.

The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily, and addressed themselves to Gelon, who was the most potent prince at that time among the Greeks. He promised to assist them with two hundred vessels of three benches of oars, with an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, two thousand light-armed soldiers, and the same number of bowmen and slingers, and to supply the Grecian army with provisions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generalissimo of all the forces both by land and sea. The Lacedæmonians were highly offended at such a proposal. Gelon then abated somewhat in his demands, and promised the same, provided he had at least the command either of the fleet or of the army. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who made answer that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in case the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelon had a more substantial reason for not leaving Sicily unprovided with troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of the Carthaginians, commanded by Amilcar, that consisted of three hundred thousand men.

The inhabitants of Corcyra, now called Corfu, gave the envoys a favourable answer, and immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty ves-

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 104.

† Ibid. c. 145, 146.

‡ Ibid. 148, 152.

sels. But they advanced no farther than the coasts of Laconia, pretending they were hindered by contrary winds, but in reality waiting to see the success of an engagement that they might afterwards range themselves on the side of the conqueror.

The people of Crete having consulted the Delphic oracle to know what resolution they were to take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league.

Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almost to themselves, all the rest of the cities and nations having submitted to the heralds that Xerxes had sent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Thespia and of Platææ. In so pressing a danger, their first care was to put an end to all discord and division among themselves;\* for which reason the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.

Their next care was to appoint a general:† for there never was any occasion wherein it was more necessary to choose one, who was capable of so important a trust than in the present conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the forces of all Asia. The most able and experienced captains, terrified at the greatness of the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whose name was Epicydes, that had some eloquence, but in other respects was a person of no merit, was in disreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithstanding all which it was apprehended that in the assembly of the people the votes would run in his favour. Themistocles, who was sensible that in calm weather almost any mariner may be capable of conducting a vessel, but that in storms and tempests the most able pilots are at a loss, was convinced that the commonwealth was ruined if Epicydes was chosen general, whose venal and mercenary soul gave them the justest reason to fear that he was not proof against the Persian gold. There are occasions, when, in order to act wisely (I had almost said regularly), it is necessary to dispense with and rise above all rule. Themistocles, who knew very well that in the present state of affairs he was the only person capable of commanding, did for that reason make no scruple of employing bribes and presents to remove his competitor; and having found means to make the ambition of Epicydes amends, by gratifying his avarice, he got himself elected general in his stead. We may here, I think, very justly apply to Themistocles what Livy says of Fabius on a like occasion. This great commander finding, when Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were going to make a man of no merit consul, employed all his own influence, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the consulship, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raised against him, and he succeeded in the attempt. The historian adds—‘The conjuncture of affairs, and the extreme danger to which the commonwealth was exposed, were arguments of such weight that they prevented any one from being offended at a conduct which might appear to be contrary to rule, and removed all suspicion of Fabius’s having acted from any motive of interest or ambition. On the contrary, the public admired his generosity and greatness of soul in that,

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 145.

† Plut. in Themist. p. 114.

as he knew the commonwealth had occasion for an accomplished general, and could not be ignorant or doubtful of his own singular merit in that respect, he had chosen rather in some sort to hazard his own reputation, and perhaps expose his character to the reproaches of envious tongues, than to be wanting in any service he could render his country.'

The Athenians also passed a decree to recall home all their people that were in banishment. They were afraid, lest Aristides should join their enemies, and lest his authority should carry over a great many others to the side of the barbarians. But they were very little acquainted with their citizen, who was infinitely remote from such sentiments. Be that as it may, they thought fit to recall him, and Themistocles was so far from opposing the decree for that purpose, that he promoted it with all his influence and authority. The hatred and division of these great men had nothing of that implacable, bitter, and outrageous spirit which prevailed among the Romans in the later times of the republic. The danger of the state was the cause of their reconciliation, and when their services were necessary to the preservation of the public, they laid aside all their jealousy and rancour: and we shall see by the sequel, that Aristides was so far from secretly thwarting his former rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.

The alarm increased in Greece, in proportion as they received advice that the Persian army advanced. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other resistance than with their land forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to slavery. This exigence taught them how to set a right value upon the prudent foresight of Themistocles, who upon some other pretext had caused a hundred galleys to be built. Instead of judging like the rest of the Athenians, who looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he on the contrary considered it rather as the beginning, and as the signal of still greater battles for which it was necessary to prepare the Athenian people; and from that very time he began to think of raising Athens to a superiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the mistress of all Greece. With this view he judged it expedient to direct all the strength of Athens entirely towards naval affairs, perceiving very plainly that as she was so weak by land, she had no other way to render herself necessary to her allies, or formidable to her enemies. His advice prevailed in spite of the opposition of Miltiades, whose difference of opinion undoubtedly arose from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with fighting at sea, and who were capable of fitting out and arming only very small vessels, should be able to withstand so formidable a power as that of the Persians, who had both a numerous land army, and a fleet of above a thousand ships.

The Athenians had some silver mines in a part of Attica called Laurium,\* the whole revenues and product of which used to be distributed amongst them. Themistocles had the courage to propose to the people that they should abolish these distributions, and employ that money in building vessels with three benches of oars, in order to make war upon the people of Ægina, against whom he endeavoured to rekindle their an-

\* Plut. in Themist. p. 113.



cient jealousy. No people are ever willing to sacrifice their private interests to the general utility of the public: for they seldom have so much generosity or public spirit, as to purchase the welfare of the state at their own expence. The Athenian people, however, did it upon this occasion: moved by the earnest remonstrances of Themistocles, they consented that the money which arose from the product of the mines, should be employed in the building of a hundred galleys. Against the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet Greece owed its preservation.

When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy,\* the Athenians, who alone had furnished two thirds of it, laid claim to that honour as appertaining to them, and their pretensions were certainly just and well grounded. It happened, however, that the suffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurýbiades, a Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, though very aspiring after glory, thought it incumbent upon him on this occasion to neglect his own interests for the common good of the nation: and giving the Athenians to understand, that, provided they behaved as valiant men, all the Grecians would quickly desire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he persuaded them to consent, as he would do himself, to give up that point at present to the Spartans. It may justly be said, that this prudent moderation in Themistocles was another means of saving the state. For the allies threatened to separate themselves from them, if they refused to comply; and if that had happened, Greece must have been inevitably ruined.

#### SECT. V.—THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.—THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.

[A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.] The only thing that now remained to be discussed, was to know in what place they should resolve to meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented that as they were the most exposed, and likely to be first attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable, that their defence and security, on which the safety of all Greece so much depended, should first be provided for; without which they should be obliged to take other measures, that would be contrary to their inclinations, but yet absolutely necessary, in case their country was left unprotected and defenceless. It was hereupon resolved, that ten thousand men should be sent to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly near the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, having given them to understand, that if they waited for the Persians in that place they must inevitably be overpowered by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Thesalians finding themselves thus abandoned, without any farther deliberation submitted to the Persians.

Thermopylæ is a strait or narrow pass of mount Œta,† between Thessaly and Phocis, only twenty-five feet broad, which therefore might be defended by a small number of forces, and which was the only way through which the Persian land army could enter Achaia, and advance to besiege Athens. This was the place where the Grecian army thought

\* Herod. l. viii. c. 213.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 175. 177.

fit to wait for the enemy: the person who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.

Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march:\* he had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to those of the land army. Wherever he came he found provisions and refreshment prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which cost immense sums of money. The vast expence of these treats gave occasion to a witty saying of a certain citizen of Abdera in Thrace, who, when the king was gone, said, they ought to thank the gods, that he ate but one meal a day.

In the same country of Thrace, there was a prince who showed an extraordinary greatness of soul on this occasion: it was the king of the Bisaltæ. Whilst all the other princes ran into servitude, and basely submitted to Xerxes, he proudly refused to receive his yoke or to obey him. Not being in a condition to resist him with open force, he retired to the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inaccessible place, and forbade all his sons, who were six in number, to carry arms against Greece. But they, either through fear of Xerxes, or through a curiosity to see so important a war, followed the Persians, in contradiction to their father's injunction. On their return home, their father, to punish so direct a disobedience, condemned all his sons to have their eyes put out. Xerxes continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every thing giving way before him till he came to the strait of Thermopylæ.

One cannot see, without the utmost astonishment, what a handful of troops the Grecians opposed to the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a particular account of their numbers in Pausanias. All their forces joined together, amounted only to eleven thousand two hundred men; of which number four thousand only were employed at Thermopylæ to defend the pass. But these soldiers, adds the historian, were all determined to a man either to conquer or die. And what is it that such an army cannot effect?

When Xerxes advanced near the straits of Thermopylæ, he was strangely surprised to find that they were prepared to dispute his passage. He had always flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe, what Demaratus had told him from the beginning of his project, that at the first pass he came to, he would find his whole army stopped by a handful of men. He sent out a spy before him to view the enemy. The spy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their intrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair: this was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle.

Xerxes still entertaining some hopes, waited four days on purpose to give them time to retreat. And in this interval of time he used his utmost endeavours to gain Leonidas, by making him magnificent promises, and assuring him that he would make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. Leonidas rejected his proposal with scorn and indignation. Xerxes having afterwards written to him to deliver up his arms, Leonidas, in a style and spirit truly laconical, answered him in

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 108, 132.

two words; 'Come and take them.' Nothing remained, but to prepare to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes first commanded his Median forces to march against them, with orders to take them all alive and bring them to him. The Medes were not able to stand the charge of the Grecians; and being shamefully put to flight, they showed, says Herodotus, that Xerxes had a great many men, but few soldiers. The next that were sent to face the Spartans, were those Persians called the Immortal Band, which consisted of ten thousand men, and were the best troops in the whole army. But these had no better success than the former.

Xerxes, despairing of being able to force his way through troops so determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what resolution to take; when an inhabitant of the country came to him, and discovered a secret path,\* leading to an eminence, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. He quickly dispatched a detachment thither, which marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

The Greeks were soon apprised of this misfortune; and Leonidas, seeing that it was now impossible to withstand the enemy, obliged the rest of the allies to retire, but staid himself with his three hundred Lacedæmonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon or her king must necessarily perish, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Spartans lost all hopes either of conquering or escaping, and looked upon Thermopylæ as their burying-place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them at the same time, that they should sup together with Pluto, they set up a shout of joy as if they had been invited to a banquet, and full of ardour advanced with their king to battle. The shock was exceedingly violent and bloody. Leonidas was one of the first that fell. The endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. At length, not vanquished, but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, and nobody would keep company or converse with him; but soon afterwards he made a glorious amends for his fault at the battle of Platææ, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Xerxes, enraged to the last degree against Leonidas† for daring to make head against him, caused his dead body to be hung on a gallows; and while he intended dishonour to his enemy covered himself with disgrace.

Some time after these transactions, by order of the Amphietyons, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ in honour of these brave defenders of Greece; and upon the monument were two inscriptions; one of which was general, and related to all those that died at Thermopylæ, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thousand, had made head against the Persian army, which consisted of three millions of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:—

\* When the Gauls, two hundred years after this, came to invade Greece, they possessed themselves of the straits of Thermopylæ by means of the same by-path, which the Grecians had still neglected to secure. Pausan. l. i. p. 7. et 8.

† Herod. l. vii. c. 238.



Ἦ ξεῖν', ἀγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ  
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

That is to say; 'Go passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws.' Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of Plataæ, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory; near which was likewise another erected for Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced in honour of these heroes, and public games celebrated, at which none but Lacedæmonians had a right to be present, in order to show, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

Xerxes in that affair lost above twenty thousand men,\* among whom were two of the king's brothers. He was very sensible that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order therefore to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men that were killed in that action, except a thousand, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made, and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill: for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, it served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to conceal the number of the slain.

Dismayed with a victory that had cost him so dear,† he asked Demarus, if the Lacedæmonians had yet many such soldiers. That prince told him, that the Spartan republic had a great many cities belonging to it, of which all the inhabitants were exceedingly brave; but that those of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were about eight thousand in number, surpassed all the rest in valour, and were all of them such as those who had fought under Leonidas.

I return for an instant to the battle of Thermopylæ, the issue of which, fatal in appearance, might make an impression upon the minds of the readers to the disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occasion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a presumptuous temerity, or a desperate resolution.

That action of Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was not the effect of rashness or despair, but was a wise and noble conduct, as Diodorus Siculus has taken care to observe,‡ in his magnificent encomium upon that famous engagement, to which he ascribes the success of all the ensuing campaigns. Leonidas knowing that Xerxes was marching at the head of all the forces of the East, in order to overwhelm and crush a little country by the dint of numbers, rightly conceived, from the superiority of his genius and understanding, that if they pretended to make the success of that war consist in opposing force to force, and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations together would never be able to equal the Persians, or to dispute the victory with them: that it was therefore necessary to point out to Greece another means of safety and preservation, whilst she was under these alarms; and that they ought to show the whole universe who had all their eyes upon them, what may be done,

\* Herod. viii. 24, 25.

† Ibid. vii. 134, 137. ‡ Lib. xi. p. 9.

when greatness of mind is opposed to force of body, true courage and bravery against blind impetuosity, the love of liberty against tyrannical oppression, and a few disciplined veteran troops against a confused multitude, though never so numerous. These brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to make the Persians sensible how difficult it is to reduce free men to slavery, and to teach the rest of Greece, by their example, either to conquer or perish.

These sentiments do not originate from my own invention, nor do I ascribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprised in that short answer, which that worthy king of Sparta made to a certain Lacedæmonian; who, being astonished at the generous resolution the king had taken, spoke to him in this manner: 'Is it possible, then, sir, that you can think of marching with a handful of men against such a mighty and innumerable army?' 'If we are to reckon upon number,' replied Leonidas, 'all the people of Greece together would not be sufficient, since a small part of the Persian army is equal to all her inhabitants; but if we are to reckon upon valour, my little troop is more than sufficient.'\*

The event showed the justness of this prince's sentiments. That illustrious example of courage astonished the Persians, and gave new spirit and vigour to the Greeks. The lives then of this heroic leader and his brave troop were not thrown away, but usefully employed; and their death was attended with a double effect, more great and lasting than they themselves had imagined. On one hand, it was in a manner the seed of their ensuing victories, which made the Persians for ever after lay aside all thoughts of attacking Greece; so that during the seven or eight succeeding reigns, there was neither any prince who durst entertain such a design, nor any flatterer in his court who durst propose the plan to him. On the other hand, such a signal and exemplary instance of intrepidity made an indelible impression upon all the rest of the Grecians, and left a persuasion deeply rooted in their hearts, that they were able to subdue the Persians, and subvert their vast empire. Cimon was the man who made the first attempt of that kind with success. Agesilaus afterwards pushed that design so far, that he made the great king tremble in his palace at Susa. Alexander at last accomplished it with incredible facility. He never had the least doubt, any more than the Macedonians who followed him, or the whole country of Greece, that chose him general in that expedition, but that with thirty thousand men he could overturn the Persian empire, since three hundred Spartans had been sufficient to check the united forces of the whole East.

#### SECT. VI.—NAVAL BATTLE NEAR ARTEMISIUM.

The very same day on which the glorious action at Thermopylæ took place,† there was also an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little galleys and small boats, consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa upon the northern coast towards the straits. That of the enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the same place, but had lately suffered in a violent tempest,

\* Plut. in Lacon. Apoph. 225. † Herod. viii. 1.—18. Diod. xi. 10, 11.

that had destroyed above four hundred of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to attack, they detached two hundred of their vessels with orders to wait about Eubœa, to the end that none of the enemy's vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of this, immediately set sail in the night, in order to attack that detachment at daybreak the next morning. But not meeting with it, they went towards the evening and fell upon the bulk of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night that parted them proved more pernicious to the Persians than the engagement which had preceded, from a violent storm of wind, accompanied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harassed their vessels till break of day: and the two hundred ships also that had been detached from their fleet, were almost all cast away upon the coasts of Eubœa; it being the will of the gods, says Herodotus, that the two fleets should become very near equal.

The Athenians having the same day received a reinforcement of fifty-three vessels, the Grecians, who were apprised of the wreck that had befallen part of the enemy's fleet, fell upon the ships of the Cilicians at the same hour they had attacked the fleet the day before, and sunk a great number of them. The Persians, being ashamed to see themselves thus insulted by an enemy that was so much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear first in a disposition to engage. The battle was very obstinate, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, excepting that the Persians, who were incommoded by the largeness and number of their vessels, sustained much the greater loss. Both parties however retired in good order.

All these actions, which passed near Artemisium,\* were not absolutely decisive, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, as they were convinced, by their own experience, that there was nothing really formidable, either in the number and magnificent ornaments of the vessels, or in the barbarians' insolent shouts and songs of victory, to men that know how to come to close engagement, and that have the courage to fight with steadiness and resolution; and that the best way of dealing with such an enemy is to despise all that vain appearance, to advance boldly up to them, and to charge them briskly and vigorously without ever giving ground.

The Grecian fleet having at this time had intelligence of what had passed at Thermopylæ, resolved upon the course they were to take without any farther deliberation. They immediately sailed away from Artemisium, and advancing toward the heart of Greece, they stopped at Salamis, a little isle very near and over against Attica. Whilst the fleet was retreating, Themistocles passed through all the places where the enemies must necessarily land, in order to take in fresh water or other provisions, and in large characters engraved upon the rocks and the stones the following words, which he addressed to the Ionians:—'Be of our side, ye people of Ionia: come over to the party of your fathers, who expose their own lives for no other end than to maintain your liberty; or, if you

\* Plut. in Themist. p. 115, 117. Herod. l. viii. c. 21, 22.



cannot possibly do that, at least do the Persians all the mischief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into disorder and confusion.' By this means Themistocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party, or at least to render them suspected to the barbarians. We see this general had his thoughts always intent upon his business, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the success of his designs.

**SECT. VII.—THE ATHENIANS ABANDON THEIR CITY,  
WHICH IS TAKEN AND BURNT BY XERXES.**

Xerxes in the mean time had entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doris, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus having no thoughts but to save their own country, had resolved to abandon all the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the Isthmus, the entrance of which they intended to secure by a strong wall from one sea to the other, a space of near five miles English. The Athenians were highly provoked at so base a desertion, as they saw themselves ready to fall into the hands of the Persians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Some time before they had consulted the oracle of Delphi, which had given them for answer—'That there would be no way of saving the city but by wooden walls.\*' The sentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expression; some thought it was to be understood to mean the citadel, because heretofore it had been surrounded with wooden palisades. But Themistocles gave another sense to the words, which was much more natural, understanding it to mean shipping: and demonstrated that the only plan they had to adopt was to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not at all give ear to, as thinking they thereby relinquished every hope of victory, and seeing no method of saving themselves, when once they abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had occasion for all his address and all his eloquence to work upon the people. After he had represented to them that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city, he endeavoured to persuade them by the argument most capable of making an impression upon them in the unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean that of the divine authority; giving them to understand by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies which had happened, that their removing for a time from Athens was manifestly the will of the gods.

A decree was therefore passed,† by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained 'that Athens should be given up in trust into the hands, and committed to the keeping and protection of Minerva, patroness of the Athenian people; that all such inhabitants as were able to bear arms should go on ship-board; and that every citizen should provide, as well as he could, for the safety and security of his wife, children, and slaves.'

The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon,‡ who was at this time very

\* Herod. l. viii. c. 139—143. † Ibid. l. viii. c. 51—54. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.

‡ Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. Followed by his companions, with a gay and cheerful countenance, he went publicly along the street of the Ceramicus to the citadel, in order to consecrate a bit of a bridle, which he carried in his hand, in the temple of Minerva, designing to make the people understand by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with land forces, and that it behoved them now to betake themselves entirely to sea. After he had made an offering of this bit, he took one of the shields that hung upon the wall of the temple, paid his devotion to the goddess, went down to the water-side, and was the first, who by his example inspired the generality of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to embark.

The greater part of them sent their fathers and mothers, that were old, together with their wives and children, to the city of Trœzene,\* the inhabitants of which received them with great humanity and generosity. For they made an ordinance that they should be maintained at the expense of the public, and assigned for each person's subsistence two oboli a day, which were worth about twopence English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, or wherever they came, and settled a fund for the payment of the masters who had the care of their education. How beautiful is it to see a city, exposed as this was to the greatest dangers and calamities, extend her care and generosity, in the very midst of such alarms, even to the education of other people's children !

When the whole city came to embark, so moving and melancholy a spectacle drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration of the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief or lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamis. But that which extremely raised and augmented the general compassion, was the great number of old men whom they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, and of whom many voluntarily remained there, through religious motives, believing the citadel the thing meant by the oracle in the forementioned ambiguous expression of wooden walls. There was no creature (for history has judged this circumstance worthy of being remembered), there was no creature, I say, even to the very domestic animals, but what took part in this public mourning ; nor was it possible for a man to see these poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who were going on board ship, without being touched and affected. Among all the rest of these animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, which, not being able to endure to see himself abandoned by his master, jumped into the sea after him, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel his master was on board of, till he landed quite spent at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the shore. In the same place, even in Plutarch's time, they used to show the spot wherein this faithful animal was said to be buried, which was called the dog's burying-place.

Whilst Xerxes was continuing his march,† some deserters from Arcadia

\* This was a small city situate upon the seaside, in that part of the Peloponesus called Argolis.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 26.

came and joined his army. The king having asked them what the Grecians were then doing, was extremely surprised when he was told, that they were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia : and his surprise was still increased, when he understood that the victor's reward in those engagements was only a crown of olive. What men must they be, cried one of the Persian nobles with great wonder and astonishment, who are influenced only by honour, and not by money.

Xerxes had sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphi,\* in which he knew there were immense treasures, being resolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods, whose temples he had pillaged. If we may believe Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as soon as ever this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, surnamed the Provident, the atmosphere grew dark on a sudden, and a violent tempest arose, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning ; and two huge rocks having severed themselves from the mountain, fell upon the Persian troops, and crushed the greatest part of them.

The other part of the army marched towards the city of Athens, which had been deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themselves with incredible bravery, till they were all killed, and would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever. Xerxes having stormed the citadel, reduced it to ashes. He immediately dispatched a courier to Susa, to carry the agreeable news of his success to Artabanus his uncle ; and at the same time sent him a great number of pictures and statues. Those of Harmodius and Aristogiton,† the ancient deliverers of Athens, were sent with the rest. One of the Antiochuses, king of Syria (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was), returned them to the Athenians, being persuaded he could not possibly make them a more acceptable present.

**SECT. VIII.—THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.—PRECIPITATE RETURN OF XERXES INTO ASIA.—PANEGYRIC OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES.—THE DEFEAT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.**

At this time a division arose among the commanders of the Grecian fleet:‡ and the confederates, in a council of war which was held for that purpose, were of very different sentiments concerning the place for engaging the enemy. Some of them, and indeed the greater part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generalissimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the land army, which was posted there to guard that pass under the command of Cleombrotus, Leonidas's brother, and more ready for the defence of Peloponnesus. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, alleged, that it would be betraying their country to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamis. And as he supported his opinion with abundance of warmth, Eurybiades lifted up his cane in a menacing manner. 'Strike,' says the Athenian, unmoved at the insult, 'but hear me : ' and continuing his discourse, he proceeded to show of what im-

\* Herod. l. viii. c. 35—39. Diod. l. xi. p. 12. † Pausan. l. i. p. 14.

‡ Herod. l. viii. c. 56—65. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.



portance it was to the fleet of the Grecians, whose vessels were lighter and much fewer in number than those of the Persians, to engage in such a strait as that of Salamis, which would render the enemy incapable of using a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being surprised at the moderation of Themistocles, acquiesced in his reasons, or at least complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, should separate themselves from the allies, as their generals had taken occasion to insinuate.

A council of war was also held on the side of the Persians,\* In order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement; Xerxes himself was come to the fleet to take the advice of his captains and officers, who were all unanimous for the battle, because they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisia was the only person who opposed that resolution. She represented the dangerous consequences of coming to blows with people much more conversant and more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians: alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their land army; whereas, by protracting the war, and approaching Peloponnesus, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, or rather augment the division which already was very prevalent amongst them; that the confederates in that case would not fail to separate from one another, in order to return and defend their respective countries; and that then the king without difficulty, and almost without striking a stroke, might make himself master of all Greece. This wise advice was not followed, and a battle was resolved upon.

Xerxes, imputing the ill success of all his former engagements at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be witness of this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This might have contributed in some measure to animate the forces; but there is another much more sure and effectual mode of doing it, I mean, the prince's actual presence and example, when he himself shares in the danger, and thereby shows himself worthy of being the soul and head of a brave and numerous body of men ready to die for his service. A prince who has not this sort of fortitude, which nothing can shake, and which even takes new vigour from danger, may nevertheless be endued with other excellent qualities, but is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatsoever can supply the want of courage in a general; and the more he labours to show the appearance of it, when he has not the reality, the more he discovers his cowardice and fear. There is, it must be owned, a vast difference between a general officer and a common soldier. Xerxes ought not to have exposed his person otherwise than became a prince; that is to say, as the head, not as the hand; as he, whose business it is to direct and give orders, not as those who are to put them in execution. But to keep himself entirely at a distance from danger, and to act no other part than that of a spectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

Themistocles,† knowing that some of the commanders in the Grecian fleet still entertained thoughts of sailing towards the isthmus, contrived to have notice given covertly to Xerxes, that as the Grecian allies were

\* Herod. l. viii. c. 67—70.    † Ibid. l. viii. 74—78.

now assembled together in one place, it would be an easy matter for him to subdue and destroy them altogether; whereas, if they once separated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with another opportunity so favourable. The king gave in to this opinion; and immediately commanded a great number of his vessels to surround Salamis by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to escape from that post.

Nobody among the Grecians perceived that their army was surrounded in this manner. Aristides came that night from Ægina, where he had some forces under his command, and with very great danger passed through the whole fleet of the enemy. When he came up to Themistocles's tent, he took him aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: 'If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall from henceforward lay aside that vain and childish dissention that has hitherto divided us, and strive, with a more noble and useful emulation, which of us shall render the best service to his country, you by commanding and doing the duty of a wise and able captain, and I by obeying your orders, and by assisting you with my person and advice.' He then informed him of the army's being surrounded with the ships of the Persians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle without delay. Themistocles, extremely astonished at such a greatness of soul, and such a noble and generous frankness, was somewhat ashamed that he had suffered himself to be so much excelled by his rival; but without being ashamed to own it, he promised Aristides, that he would henceforward imitate his generosity, and even exceed it, if it were possible, in the whole of his future conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the stratagem he had contrived to deceive the barbarian, he desired him to go in person to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of safety for them than to engage the enemy by sea at Salamis; which commission Aristides executed with pleasure and success; for he possessed much influence over that general.

Both sides therefore prepared themselves for the battle.\* The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty sail of ships, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themistocles. As nothing escaped his vigilance, and as, like an able commander, he knew how to improve every circumstance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement he waited till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind rose, the signal was given for battle. The Persians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as were capable of striking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the first attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every thing was against them; the wind, which blew directly in their faces; the height, and the heaviness of their vessels, which could not move nor turn without great difficulty, and even the number of their ships, which was so far from being of use to them, that it only served to embarrass them in a place so strait and narrow as that in which they fought: whereas, on the side of the Grecians, every thing was done with good order, and without hurry

\* Herod. lib. viii. c. 84—96.

or confusion ; because every thing was directed by one commander. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had warned, by characters engraven upon stones along the coasts of Eubœa, to remember from whom they derived their original, were the first that betook themselves to flight, and were quickly followed by the rest of the fleet. Artemisia distinguished herself by incredible efforts of resolution and courage ; so that Xerxes, who saw in what manner she had behaved herself, cried out, that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had shown the courage of men. The Athenians, being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms against them, had promised a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should be able to take her alive ; but she had the good fortune to escape their pursuit. If they had taken her, she could have deserved nothing from them but the highest commendations, and the most honourable and generous treatment.

The manner in which that queen escaped\* ought not to be omitted.† Seeing herself warmly pursued by an Athenian ship, from which it seemed impossible for her to escape, she hung out Grecian colours, and attacked one of the Persian vessels, on board of which was Damasithymus, king of Calynda,‡ with whom she had had some quarrel, and sunk it ; this made her pursuers believe that her ship was one of the Grecian fleet, and they gave over the chase.

Such was the success of the battle of Salamis, one of the most memorable actions related in ancient history, and which has rendered the name and courage of the Grecians famous for ever. A great number of the Persian ships were taken, and a much greater sunk upon this occasion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, made the best of their way into their own country.

Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, proposed to his consideration, in order to sound him and to learn his real sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to send some vessels to break down the bridge which Xerxes had caused to be built, to the end, says he, that we may take Asia in Europe ; but though he made this proposal, he was far from approving it. Aristides, believing him to be in earnest, argued very warmly and strenuously against any such project, and represented to him how dangerous it was to reduce so powerful an enemy to despair, from whom it was their business to deliver themselves as soon as possible. Themistocles seemed to acquiesce in his reasons ; and in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge. The point Themistocles seems to have had in view by this false confidence, was to strengthen himself with Aristides's opinion, which was of great weight,

\* It appears that Artemisia valued herself no less upon stratagem than courage, and at the same time was not very delicate in the choice of the measures she used. It is said that, being desirous of seizing Latmus, a small city of Caria, that lay very commodiously for her, she laid her troops in ambush, and under pretence of celebrating the feast of the mother of the gods, in a wood consecrated to her near that city, she repaired thither with a great train of eunuchs, women, drums, and trumpets. The inhabitants ran in throngs to see that religious ceremony ; and in the mean time Artemisia's troops took possession of the place.—Polyæn. *Stratag.* l. viii. c. 53.

† Herod. l. viii. c. 87, 86. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 53.     ‡ A city of Lycia.



against that of the other generals, in case they inclined to go and break down the bridge. Perhaps, too, he might aim at guarding himself by this means against the ill will of his enemies, who might one day accuse him of treason before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that secret advice to Xerxes.

This prince being frightened at such news, made the best use he could of his time, and set out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him, with an army of three hundred thousand men, in order to reduce Greece, if he was able. The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have come to another engagement the next day, having learnt that he was fled, pursued him as fast as they could, but to no purpose. They had destroyed two hundred of the enemy's ships,\* besides those which they had taken. The remainder of the Persian fleet, after having suffered extremely by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and entered into the port of Cumæ, a city of Æolia, where they passed the winter, without daring afterwards to return into Greece.

Xerxes took the rest of his army along with him, and marched towards the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared for them beforehand, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted five and forty days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army; and great numbers died of fluxes and the plague.

The king, through eagerness and impatience to make his escape, had left his army behind him, and travelled on before with a small retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition: but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, during a great tempest that had happened, and was reduced to the necessity of passing the strait in a fishing-boat. This was a spectacle well calculated to show mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the instability of human greatness; a prince, whose armies and fleets the land and sea were scarce able to contain a little while before, now stealing away in a small boat almost without any servants or attendants! Such was the event and success of Xerxes's expedition against Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himself at different times and on different occasions, we shall hardly know him for the same man. When affairs were under consideration and debate, no person could show more courage and intrepidity than this prince: he is surprised and even offended, if any one foresees the least difficulty in the execution of his projects, or shows any apprehension concerning the issue of them. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flies like a coward, and thinks of nothing but saving his own life and person. Here we have a sensible and evident proof of the difference between true courage, which is never destitute of prudence, and temerity, which is always blind and presumptuous. A wise and prudent prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumstances, before he enters into a war, of which he is not afraid, but at the same time does not desire; and when the time of action is come, the sight of danger serves only to animate his courage. Presumption inverts this order. When she has introduced assurance and boldness, where wisdom and circumspection ought to preside, she admits

\* Herod. l. viii. c. 130.

fear and despair, where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted. The first care of the Grecians, after the battle of Salamis,\* was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken to Delphi. Cimon, who was then very young, signalized himself in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of such distinguished valour, as acquired him a great reputation, and made him be considered from henceforth as a citizen that would be capable of rendering the most important services to his country on future occasions.

But Themistocles carried off almost all the honour of the victory,† which was the most signal that ever the Grecians obtained over the Persians. The force of truth obliged even those who were most envious of his glory to render him this testimony. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing in a paper the names of the man who had merited the first prize, and of him who had merited the second. On this occasion, by a decision which shows the good opinion it is natural for every man to have of himself, each officer adjudged the first rank to himself, and allowed the second to Themistocles; which was indeed giving him the preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours due to his merit, decreed to their general Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, which was a crown of olive for both of them. They also made a present to Themistocles of the finest chariot in the city; and on his departure sent three young men of the most considerable families to wait upon him to the frontiers: an honour they had never shown to any person whatsoever before.

But that which gave him a still more sensible pleasure, were the public acclamations he received at the first Olympic games that were celebrated after the battle of Salamis, where all the people of Greece were met together. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combats; Themistocles was the only spectacle. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every body was eager to show him and point him out with the hand to the strangers that did not know him. He acknowledged afterwards to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happiest of his life; that he had never tasted any joy so sweet and so transporting; and that this reward, the genuine fruit of his labours, exceeded all his desires.

The reader has undoubtedly observed in Themistocles two or three principal strokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked amongst the greatest men. The design which he formed and executed, of making the whole force of Athens maritime, showed him to have a superior genius, capable of the highest views, penetrating into futurity, and judicious in seizing the decisive point in great affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was barren and of small extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herself, was by sea. And indeed that scheme may justly be looked upon as the source and cause of all those great events, which raised the republic of Athens, in the sequel, to so flourishing a condition.

\* Herod. l. viii. c. 122, 125.

† Plut. in Themist. p. 120.

But, in my opinion, this wisdom and foresight is infinitely less meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation which Themistocles showed on two critical occasions, when Greece had been utterly undone if he had listened to the dictates of an ill-judged ambition, and had piqued himself upon a false point of honour, as is usual among persons of his age and profession. The first of these occasions was, when, notwithstanding the flagrant injustice that was committed, both in reference to the republic of which he was a member, and to his own person, in appointing a Lacedæmonian generalissimo of the fleet, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to desist from their pretensions, though never so justly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects with which a division among the confederates must have been necessarily attended. And how worthy of admiration was that presence of mind and coolness of temper which he displayed, when the same Eurybiades not only affronted him with harsh and offensive language, but lifted up his cane at him with a menacing gesture! Let it be remembered at the same time, that Themistocles was then but young; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory; that he was commander of a numerous fleet; and that he had right and reason on his side. How would our young officers behave on a similar occasion? Themistocles took all patiently, and the victory of Salamis was the fruit of his patience.

As to Aristides, I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more extensively upon his character and merit. He was, properly speaking, the man of the commonwealth: provided that was well and faithfully served, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others, so far from offending him, became his own by the approbation and encouragement which he gave to it. We have seen him make his way through the enemy's fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themistocles some intelligence and good advice; and Plutarch takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Aristides assisted him on all occasions with his counsel and credit, notwithstanding he had reason to look upon him not only as his rival, but his enemy. Let us compare this nobleness and greatness of soul with the little-spiritedness and meanness of those men, who are so nice, punctilious, and jealous in whatever respects the subject of command; who are incapable of acting in concert with their colleagues, and solely intent upon engrossing the glory of every thing to themselves; always ready to sacrifice the welfare of the public to their own private interests, or to suffer their rivals to commit blunders, that they themselves may reap advantages from them.

On the very same day that the action of Thermopylæ happened,\* the formidable army of Carthaginians, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the same day with that of Salamis. The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have related in the history of the Carthaginians.

After the battle of Salamis,† the Grecians being returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had declared for them, to levy contributions and exact money from them. The first he began with was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he re-

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 165, 167. † Id. viii. 111, 112. Plut. in Themist. p. 122.



quired a considerable sum, speaking to them in this manner : ‘ I come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Force.’ The answer they made him was : ‘ We also have two powerful divinities on our side, no less powerful than yours, and which do not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Poverty and Despair.’ Upon this refusal he made a feint of besieging them, and threatened that he would entirely ruin their city. He dealt in the same manner with several other islands, which durst not resist him as Andros had done, and drew great sums of money from them without the privity of the other commanders ; for he was esteemed a lover of money, and desirous of enriching himself.

#### SECT. IX.—THE BATTLE OF PLATÆÆ.

[A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.] Mardonius, who had staid in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men,\* let his troops pass the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring following led them into Bœotia. There was a very famous oracle in this country, the oracle of Lebadia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know what would be the success of the war. The priest, in his enthusiastic fit, answered in a language which nobody that was present understood, as much as to insinuate that the oracle would not deign to speak intelligibly to a barbarian. At the same time, Mardonius sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with several Persian noblemen, to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made very advantageous proposals to the Athenian people, to detach them from the rest of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city, which had been burnt down, to supply them with a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander exhorted them in his own name, as their ancient friend, to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity for re-establishing their affairs, alleging, that they were not in a condition to withstand a power so formidable as that of the Persians, and so much superior to Greece. On the first intelligence of this embassy, the Spartans also on their side sent deputies to Athens, in order to hinder it from taking effect. These were present when the others had their audience ; where, as soon as Alexander had finished his speech, they began in their turn to address themselves to the Athenians, and strongly exhorted them not to separate themselves from their allies, nor to desert the common interest of their country ; representing to them, at the same time, that union in the present situation of their affairs formed their whole strength, and would render Greece invincible. They added farther, that the Spartan commonwealth was very sensibly moved with the melancholy state which the Athenians were in, who were destitute both of houses and retreat, and who for two years together had lost all their harvests ; that in consideration of that calamity, she would engage herself, during the continuance of the war, to maintain and support their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furnish a plentiful supply for all their wants. They concluded by animadverting on the conduct of Alexander, whose discourse, they said, was such as might be expected from one tyrant, who spoke in favour of another ; but that he seemed to have forgotten, that the people to whom

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 113—131, 136—140, 144. Plut. in Arist. p. 324. Diod. l. xi. p. 22, 23. Plut. de Orac. Defec. p. 412.

he addressed himself had showed themselves, on all occasions, the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Aristides was at this time in office, that is to say, the principal of the Archons. As it was therefore his business to answer, he said, that as to the barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation by large promises ; but that he could not help being surprised, and affected with some sort of indignation, to see that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the present distress and necessity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist in fighting nobly for the common safety of Greece from motives of gain, and by proposing to give them victuals and provision : he desired them to acquaint their republic, that all the gold in the world was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them desert the defence of their common liberty ; that they were duly sensible of the kind offers which Lacedæmon had made them ; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs so as not to be a burden to any of their allies. Then turning himself towards the ambassadors of Mardonius, and pointing with his hand to the sun : ‘ Be assured,’ says he to them, ‘ that as long as that luminary shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and will not cease to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands and burning their houses and temples.’ After which, he desired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, not to make himself any more the bearer of such proposals to them, which would only serve to reflect dishonour upon him, without ever producing any other effect.

Aristides was not satisfied with having made this plain and peremptory declaration. But that he might excite a still greater horror for such proposals, and for ever prohibit all manner of intercourse with the barbarians through a principle of religion, he ordained, that the priests should denounce curses and execrations upon any person whatsoever, that should presume to propose the making of an alliance with the Persians, or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Grecians.

When Mardonius had learned, by the answer which the Athenians had sent him,\* that they wese not to be prevailed upon by any proposals or advantages whatsoever to sell their liberty, he marched with his whole army towards Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, had retired to Salamis, and a second time abandoned their city. Mardonius, still entertaining hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, sent another deputy to them to make the same proposals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion that they should hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately stoned, and the Athenian women running at the same time to his house, did the same execution upon his wife and children ; so detestable a crime did it appear to them to propose any peace with the Persians. But notwithstanding this, they paid respect to the character wherewith the deputy was invested, and sent him back without offering him any indignity or ill treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expect-

\* Herod. l. ix. c. 1—11. Plut. in Arist. p. 324. Diod. lib. xi. p. 23.

ed with them. He therefore entered Athens, and burnt and demolished every thing that had escaped their fury the preceding year.

The Spartans, instead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagement, thought only of keeping themselves shut up within the Peloponnesus for their own security, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering that way, by which means they reckoned they should be safe themselves, and should have no farther occasion for the assistance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon sent deputies to Sparta, in order to complain of the slowness and neglect of the allies. But the Ephori did not seem to be much moved at their remonstrances: and as that day was the festival of Hyacinthus,\* they spent it in feasts and rejoicing, and deferred giving the deputies their answer till the next day. And still procrastinating the affair as much as they could, on various pretexts, they gained ten days time, during which the building of the wall was completed. They were on the point of dismissing the Athenian envoys in a scandalous manner, when a private citizen expostulated with them, and represented to them, how base it would be to treat the Athenians in such a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary losses they had so generously suffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important services they had rendered Greece in general. This opened their eyes, and made them ashamed of their perfidious design. The very next night following they sent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, five thousand Spartans, who had each of them seven helots, or slaves, to attend him. On the following morning the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and earnestness, and were extremely surprised when they were told that the Spartan succours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

Mardonius had left Attica at this time,† and was on his return into Bœotia. As the latter was an open and flat country, he thought it would be more convenient for him to fight there than in Attica, which was uneven and rugged, full of hills and narrow passes, and which for that reason would not allow him space enough for drawing up his numerous army in battle array, nor leave room for his cavalry to act. When he came back into Bœotia, he encamped by the river Asopus. The Grecians followed him thither under the command of Pausanias king of Sparta, and of Aristides, general of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to Herodotus, consisted of three hundred thousand, or, according to Diodorus, of five hundred thousand men. That of the Grecians did not amount to seventy thousand; of which there were but five thousand Spartans; but, as these were accompanied by thirty-five thousand helots (viz.), seven for each Spartan, they made up together forty thousand: the latter of these were light-armed troops. The Athenian forces consisted but of eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by

\* Amongst the Lacedæmonians the feast of Hyacinthus continued three days: the first and the last of which were days of sorrow and mourning for the death of Hyacinthus; but the second was a day of rejoicing, which was spent in feasting, sports, and spectacles, and all kinds of diversions. This festival was celebrated every year in the month of August, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus.

† Herod. l. ix. c. 12—76. Plut. in Arist. p. 325—330. Diod. ix. 24. 26.



the Athenians, an honour which the people of Tegæa pretended to, and disputed with them, but in vain.

Whilst all Greece was in suspense, expecting a battle that should determine their fate, a secret conspiracy,\* formed in the midst of the Athenian camp by some discontented citizens, who intended either to subvert their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians, gave Aristides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occasion for all his prudence; not knowing exactly how many might be concerned in this conspiracy, he contented himself with having eight of them taken up; and of those eight, the only two whom he caused to be accused, because they had the most laid to their charge, made their escape out of the camp, while their trial was preparing. There is no doubt but Aristides favoured their escape, lest he should be obliged to punish them, and their punishment might occasion some tumult and disorder. The others that were in custody he released, leaving them room to believe that he had found nothing against them, and telling them that the battle with the enemy should be the tribunal where they might fully justify their characters, and show the world how unlikely it was that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well-timed and wise dissimulation, which opened a door for repentance, and avoided driving the offenders to despair, appeased all the commotion, and quashed the whole affair.

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, sent out his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Megarians, who were encamped in the open country, suffered extremely by them; and in spite of all the vigour and resolution with which they defended themselves, they were upon the point of giving way, when a detachment of three hundred Athenians, with some troops armed with missive weapons, advanced to their succour. Masistius, the general of the Persian horse, and one of the most considerable noblemen of his country, seeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians stood their ground, and waited to receive them. The shock was very fierce and violent, both equally endeavouring to show, by the issue of this encounter, what would be the success of the general engagement. The victory was a long time disputed; but at last Masistius's horse, being wounded, threw his master, who was instantly killed; upon which the Persians immediately fled. As soon as the news of his death reached the barbarians, their grief was excessive. They cut off their hair, as also the manes of their horses and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having lost in their opinion the bravest man of their army.

After this encounter with the Persian cavalry, the two armies were a long time without coming to action; because the soothsayers, upon inspecting the entrails of the victims, foretold equally to both parties, that they should be victorious, provided they acted only upon the defensive; whereas, on the other hand, they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offensively, or made the first attack.

They passed ten days in this manner in view of each other. But Mardonius, who was of a fiery, impatient temper, grew very uneasy at so long

\* Plut. in Arist. p. 326.

a delay. Besides, he had only a few days' provisions left for his army ; and the Grecians grew stronger every day by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He therefore called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle. Artabazus, a nobleman of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to supply the army with provisions and forage. He alleged, that delays alone would be capable of diminishing the ardour of the allies ; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw some of them off by gold and silver, which they would take care to distribute among the leaders, and among such as had the greatest sway and authority in their several cities ; and that, in short, this would be both the easiest and surest method of subjecting Greece. This opinion was very wise, but was overruled by Mardonius, whom the rest had not courage to contradict. The result therefore of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on the side of the Grecians in his heart, came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed.

Pausanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themselves for battle, and imparted to Aristides the design he had formed of changing his order of battle, by placing the Athenians in the right wing instead of the left, in order to oppose them to the Persians, with whom they had been accustomed to engage. Whether it was fear or prudence that induced Pausanias to propose this new disposition, the Athenians accepted it with pleasure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to acquit themselves bravely, bidding each other remember that neither they nor their enemies were changed since the battle of Marathon, unless it were that victory had increased the courage of the Athenians, and had dispirited the Persians. We do not fight (said they) as they do, for a country only, or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamis, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of fortune, but the work of the Athenians. Encouraging one another in this manner, they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their post. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received of this movement, having made the like change in his order of battle, both sides ranged their troops again according to their former disposition. The whole day passed in this manner without their coming to action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp from the place they were in, and march to another, more conveniently situated for water. Night being come, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their companies to push forward to the camp marked out for them, great confusion arose among the troops, some going one way and some another, without observing any order or regularity in their march. At last they halted near the little city of Platææ.

On the first news of the Grecians being decamped, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and pursued them with the hideous shouting and howling of his barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not so much to fight, as to strip and plunder a flying enemy ; and their general likewise, making himself sure of victory,

proudly insulted Artabazus, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy; whereas here was an instance of the contrary. But the general quickly found this was no false or ill-grounded notion. He happened to fall in with the Lacedæmonians, who were alone, and separated from the body of the Grecian army, to the number of fifty thousand men, together with three thousand of the Tegeans. The encounter was exceeding fierce; on both sides the men fought with the courage of lions; and the barbarians perceived that they had to do with soldiers who were determined to conquer or die in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pausanias had sent an officer, were already upon their march to aid them; but the Greeks, who were on the side of the Persians, to the number of fifty thousand men, went out to meet them, and hindered them from proceeding any farther. Aristides with his little body of men bore up firmly against them and withstood their attack, letting them see how insignificant a superiority of numbers is against true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, and fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke in upon the Persian forces and put them into disorder. Mardonius, their general, falling dead of a wound he had received in the engagement, all his army betook themselves to flight; and those Greeks, who were engaged against Aristides, did the same, as soon as they understood the barbarians were defeated. The latter had taken shelter in their former camp, where they had fortified themselves with an inclosure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued them thither, and attacked them in their intrenchment; but this they did weakly and irresolutely, like people that were not much accustomed to sieges, and to storm walls. The Athenian troops, having advice of this, left off pursuing their Grecian adversaries, and marched to the camp of the Persians, which after several assaults they carried, and made a horrible slaughter of the enemy.

Artabazus, who from Mardonius's imprudent management had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, and given all possible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded; and preventing his flight from being known by the expedition of his march, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Asia. Of all the rest of the Persian army, not four thousand men escaped that day's slaughter; all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themselves at once from all further invasions from that nation, no Persian army having ever appeared after that time on this side of the Hellespont.

[A. M. 1525. Ant J. C. 479]—This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month Boedromion,\* according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at their joint and common expense, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of the several nations of Greece,† that were present in the engagement, were engraven

\* This day answers to the nineteenth of our September.

† Pausan. l. v. p. 532.



on the right side of the pedestal of the statue; the Lacedæmonians first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

One of the principal citizens of Ægina came and addressed himself to Pausanias,\* exhorting him to avenge the indignity that Mardonius and Xerxes had shown to Leonidas, whose dead body had been hung upon a gallows by their order, and urging him to use Mardonius's body in the same manner. As a farther motive for doing so, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those that were killed at Thermopylæ, he would be sure to immortalize his own name throughout all Greece, and make his memory precious to the latest posterity.—'Carry thy base counsel elsewhere,' replied Pausanias. 'Thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine that the way for me to acquire it is by resembling the barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina is not to be purchased but by such a proceeding, I shall be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians alone, amongst whom the base and ungenerous pleasure of revenge is never put in competition with that of showing clemency and moderation to their enemies, and especially after their death. As for the manes of my departed countrymen, they are sufficiently avenged by the death of the many thousand Persians slain upon the spot in the last engagement.'

A dispute,† which arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, to ascertain which of the two nations should have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as also which of them should have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have sullied all the glory, and imbittered the joy, of their late victory. They were just on the point of carrying things to the last extremity, and would certainly have decided the dispute with their swords, had not Aristides prevailed upon them, by the strength of his arguments, to refer the determination of the matter to the judgment of the Grecians in general. This proposition being accepted by both parties, and the Greeks being assembled upon the spot to decide the contest, Theogiton of Megara, speaking upon the question, gave it as his opinion that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to some other city, unless they desired to kindle a civil war, of more fatal consequences than that to which they had just put an end. After he had finished his speech, Cleocritus of Corinth rising up, nobody doubted but he was going to claim that honour for the city of which he was a member and a native; for Corinth was the chief city of Greece in power and dignity after those of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived when they found that all his discourse tended to the praise of the Platæans, and that the conclusion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguish so dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, against whom neither the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealousy. This discourse and proposal were received with a general applause by the whole assembly. Aristides immediately assented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

All parties being thus agreed, before they began to divide the spoil of the enemy, they put fourscore talents‡ aside for the Platæans, who laid

\* Herod. l. ix. c. 77, 78.

+ Plut. in Arist. p. 331.

‡ 80,000 crowns French, about 18,000l. sterling.

them out in building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a statue to her honour, and in adorning the temple with curious and valuable paintings, which were still in being in Plutarch's time, that is to say, above six hundred years afterwards, and which were then as fresh as if they had lately come out of the hands of the painters. As for the trophy, which had been another article of the dispute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themselves in particular, and the Athenians another.

The spoil was immense: in Mardonius's camp they found prodigious sums of money in gold and silver, besides cups, vessels, beds, tables, necklaces, and bracelets of gold and silver, not to be valued or numbered. It is observed by a certain historian, that these spoils proved fatal to Greece, by becoming the instruments of introducing the love of riches and luxury among her inhabitants. According to the religious custom of the Grecians, before they divided the treasure, they appropriated the tenth part of the whole to the use of the gods. The rest was distributed equally among the cities and nations that had furnished troops; and the chief officers who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle were likewise distinguished in this distribution. They sent a present of a golden tripod to Delphi, in the inscription upon which Pausanias caused these words to be inserted:—'That he had defeated the barbarians at Plataeæ, and that in acknowledgment of that victory he had made this present to Apollo.'\*

This arrogant inscription, wherein he ascribed the honour both of the victory and the offering to himself alone, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in order to punish his pride in the very point in which he thought to exalt himself, and at the same time to do justice to their confederates, caused his name to be razed out, and that of the cities which had contributed to the victory to be put in the stead of it. Too ardent a thirst after glory on this occasion did not give him leave to consider, that a man loses nothing by a discreet modesty, which forbears the setting too high a value upon one's own services, and which, by screening a man from envy, serves really to enhance his reputation.

Pausanias gave a more advantageous specimen of the Spartan temper and disposition, at an entertainment which he gave a few days after the engagement; where one of the tables was costly and magnificent, and displayed all the variety of delicacies and dainties that used to be served at Mardonius's table; and the other was plain and frugal, after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two together, and causing his officers whom he had invited on purpose, to observe the difference of them; 'What madness,' says he, 'was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet, to come and attack a people like us, that know how to live without any such superfluities!'

All the Grecians were sent to Delphi to consult the oracle,† concerning the sacrifice it was proper to offer. The answer they received from the god was, that they should erect an altar to 'Jupiter the Deliverer:' but that they should take care not to offer any sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profaned by the barbarians; and that they should come as far as Delphi to fetch pure fire, which they were to take from the altar called the common altar.

† Cor. Nep. in Pausan. c. 1.      † Plut. in Arist. p. 334, 332.

This answer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately dispersed themselves throughout the whole country, and caused all the fires to be extinguished : and Euchidas a citizen of Platææ, having taken upon himself to go and fetch the sacred fire with all possible expedition, made the best of his way to Delphi. On his arrival he purified himself, sprinkled his body with consecrated water, put on a crown of laurel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Platææ, where he arrived before the setting of the sun, having travelled a thousand stadia (which make a hundred and twenty-five miles English) in one day. As soon as he came back, he saluted his fellow citizens, delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen carried away his body, and buried it in the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, which signifies ‘ of good renown,’ and put the following epitaph upon his tomb, in the compass of one verse :—‘ Here lies Euchidas, who went from hence to Delphi, and returned back the same day.’

In the next general assembly of Greece, which was held not long after this occurrence, Aristides proposed the following decree :—That all the cities of Greece should every year send their respective deputies to Platææ, to offer sacrifices to ‘ Jupiter the Deliverer,’ and to the gods of the city; (this assembly was still regularly held in the time of Plutarch), that every five years there should be games celebrated there, which should be called the games of liberty; that the several states of Greece together should raise a body of troops, consisting of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, and should equip a fleet of a hundred ships, which should be constantly maintained for making war against the barbarians; and that the inhabitants of Platææ, solely devoted to the service of the gods, should be looked upon as sacred and inviolable, and be concerned in no other function than that of offering prayers and sacrifices for the general preservation and prosperity of Greece.

All these articles being approved of and passed into a law, the citizens of Platææ took upon them to solemnize every year the anniversary festival in honour of those persons that were slain in the battle. The order and manner of performing this sacrifice was as follows :—The sixteenth day of the month Maimacterion,\* which answers to our month of December, at day-break, they walked in a solemn procession, which was preceded by a trumpet that sounded to battle. Next to the trumpet marched several chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After these chariots was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young persons, carrying pitchers in their hands full of wine and milk, the ordinary libations offered to the dead, and vials of oil and perfumes. All these young persons were freemen; for no slave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was instituted for men who had lost their lives for liberty. In the rear of this procession followed the archon, or chief magistrate of the Platæans, for whom it was unlawful at any other time even so much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one. But upon this occasion being clad in purple raiment,

\* Three months after that in which the battle of Platææ was fought. Probably these funeral rites were not at first performed till after the enemies were entirely gone, and the country was free.



having a sword by his side, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place where they kept their public records, he marched through the city to the place where the tombs of his countrymen were erected. As soon as he came there, he drew water with his urn from the fountain, washed with his own hands the little columns that belonged to the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with essence, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpose. After having offered up prayers to the terrestrial Jupiter\* and Mercury, he invited those valiant souls deceased to come to their feast, and to partake of their funeral libations; then taking a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it out on the ground, and said with a loud voice—‘ I present this cup to those valiant men, who died for the liberty of the Grecians.’ These ceremonies were annually performed even in the time of Plutarch.

Diodorus adds† that the Athenians in particular embellished the monuments of their citizens who died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour, and appointed a solemn panegyric to be pronounced over them, which in all probability was repeated every year.

The reader will be sensible, without my observing it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem, and gratitude for soldiers who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage; and how exceedingly well calculated all this was to cultivate and perpetuate a spirit of bravery in the people, and to make their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much struck at seeing how wonderfully careful and exact these people were to acquit themselves on every occasion of the duties of religion. The great event which I have just been relating, viz. the battle of Plataæ, affords us very remarkable proofs of this, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to ‘ Jupiter the Deliverer,’ which was still continued in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festival for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that success. It is a delightful thing, methinks, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publicly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations centre in the Supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the source from whence all salutary counsels, wisdom, and courage, are derived, and as entitled on all these accounts to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their perpetual acknowledgements and thanksgiving for such distinguished favours and benefits.

#### SECT. X.—THE BATTLE NEAR MYCALE.—THE DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.

On the same day that the Greeks fought the battle of Plataæ,‡ their

\* The terrestrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto: and the same epithet of terrestrial was also given to Mercury; because it was believed to be his office to conduct departed souls to the infernal regions.

† Lib. xi. p. 26. ‡ Herod. l. ix. c. 89—105. Diod. l. xi. p. 26—28.

naval forces obtained a memorable victory in Asia over the remainder of the Persian fleet. For whilst that of the Greeks lay at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides, one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, ambassadors came to those generals from the Ionians to invite them into Asia to deliver the Grecian cities from their subjection to the barbarians. On this invitation they immediately set sail for Asia, and steered their course by Delos. While they continued there, other ambassadors arrived from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had passed the winter at Cumæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an easy matter to defeat and destroy it, earnestly pressing them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The Greeks hereupon sailed away directly for Samos. But the Persians receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Asia, where their land army, consisting of a hundred thousand men, who were the remainder of those that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before was encamped. Here they drew their vessels ashore, which was a common practice among the ancients, and surrounded them with a strong rampart. The Grecians followed them to the very place, and with the help of the Ionians defeated their land army, forced their rampart, and burnt their vessels.

The battle of Plataeæ was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon on the same day : and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the victory of Plataeæ was known at Mycale before the latter engagement was begun, though the whole Ægean sea, which requires several days sailing to cross it, was between those two places. But Diodorus Siculus explains to us this mystery. He tells us that Leotychides, observing his soldiers to be much dejected for fear their countrymen at Plataeæ should sink under the numbers of Mardonius's army, contrived a stratagem to reanimate them ; and that, therefore, when he was just upon the point of making the first attack, he caused a rumour to be spread among his troops,\* that the Persians were defeated at Plataeæ, though at that time he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.

Xerxes, hearing the news of these two great overthrows,† left Sardis with as much haste as he had formerly quitted Athens, after the battle of Salamis, and retired with great precipitation into Persia, in order to put himself, as far as he possibly could, out of the reach of his victorious enemies. But before he set out,‡ he gave orders to burn and demolish all the temples belonging to the Grecian cities in Asia ; which order was so far executed that not one escaped except the temple of Diana at Ephesus. He acted in this manner at the instigation of the Magi,§ who were professed enemies to temples and images. The second Zoroaster had thoroughly instructed him in their religion, and made him a zealous defender of it. Pliny informs us,|| that Ostanes, the head of the Magi, and the patriarch of that sect, who maintained its maxims and interests with the greatest violence, attended Xerxes upon this expedition against Greece. This prince,¶ as he passed through Babylon on his return to

\* What we are told also of Paulus Æmilius's victory over the Macedonians, which was known at Rome the very day it was obtained, without doubt happened in the same manner. † Diod. l. xi. p. 28.

‡ Strab. l. xiv. p. 634. § Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 29. || Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.

¶ Arrian. l. vii.

Susa, destroyed also all the temples in that city, as he had done those of Greece and Asia Minor ; doubtless, through the same principle, and out of hatred to the sect of the Sabæans, who made use of images in their divine worship, which was a thing utterly detested by the Magi. Perhaps also, the desire of making himself amends for the expences incurred in his Grecian expedition by the spoil and plunder of those temples, might be another motive that induced him to destroy them : for it is certain he found immense riches in them, which had been amassed through the superstition of princes and people during a long series of ages.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had caused to be laid over that narrow passage, and which they supposed were still entire. But finding them broken down by tempestuous weather, Leotychides and his Peloponnesian forces returned towards their own country. As for Xanthippus, he staid with the Athenians and their Ionian confederates, and they made themselves masters of Sestus and the Thracian Chersonesus, in which places they found great booty, and took a vast number of prisoners. After which, on the approach of winter, they returned to their own cities.

From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Persians, and having entered into a confederacy with the Grecians, most of them preserved their liberty, during the time that empire subsisted.

#### SECT. XI.—THE BARBAROUS AND INHUMAN REVENGE OF AMESTRIS, THE WIFE OF XERXES.

[A. M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.] During the time that Xerxes resided at Sardis,\* he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother Masistes, who was a prince of extraordinary merit, had always served the king with great zeal and fidelity, and had never done any thing to disoblige him. The virtue of this lady, her great affection and fidelity to her husband, made her inexorable to all the king's solicitations. However, he still flattered himself, that by a profusion of favours and liberalities he might possibly gain upon her : and among other favours which he conferred upon her, he married his eldest son Darius, whom he intended for his successor, to Artainta, this princess's daughter, and ordered that the marriage should be consummated as soon as he arrived at Susa. But Xerxes finding the lady still no less impregnable, in spite of all his temptations and attacks, immediately changed his object, and fell passionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's constancy and virtue. Whilst this intrigue was carrying on, Amestris, wife to Xerxes, presented him with a rich and magnificent robe of her own making. Xerxes, being extremely pleased with this robe, thought fit to put it on upon the first visit he afterwards made to Artainta ; and in conversation pressed her to let him know what she desired he should do for her, assuring her at the same time, with an oath, that he would grant her whatever she asked of him. Artainta, upon this, desired him to give her the robe he had on. Xerxes, foreseeing the ill consequences that would necessarily ensue upon his making her this present, did all that he could to dissuade her from insisting upon it, and offered her any thing in the world in lieu of it. But not being able to

\* Herod. l. ix. c. 107—112.



prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by the imprudent promise and oath he had made her, he gave her the robe. The lady no sooner received it, than she put it on, and wore it publicly by way of trophy.

Amestris being confirmed in the suspicions she had entertained by this action, was enraged to the last degree. But instead of letting her vengeance fall upon the daughter, who was the only offender, she resolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpose, she waited until the grand feast, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth-day, and which was not far off; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, granted her whatever she demanded. This day then being come, the thing which she desired of his majesty was, that the wife of Masistes should be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, and who was struck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, against whom he perceived his wife was violently exasperated, at first refused her request, and endeavoured all he could to dissuade her from it. But not being able either to prevail upon her, or to act with steadiness and resolution himself, he at last yielded, and was guilty of complaisance equally weak and cruel; making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom, that had been established solely to give occasion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence and generosity. In consequence then of this compliance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Amestris, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, ordered them to be cast to the dogs in her own presence, and then sent her home to her husband's house in that mutilated and miserable condition. In the mean time Xerxes had sent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first gave him to understand, that he should be glad he would put away his wife; and to induce him thereto offered to give him one of his daughters in marriage in her stead. But Masistes, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himself to divorce her, whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter he should neither have her nor his wife, and that he would teach him not to reject the offers his master had made him; and with this inhuman reply dismissed him.

This strange proceeding threw Masistes into the greatest anxiety, thinking he had reason to apprehend the worst; he made all the haste he could home to see what had passed there during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have just been describing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he assembled all his family, his servants and dependents, and set out without all possible expedition for Bactriana, whereof he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to raise an army and make war against the king, in order to avenge himself for his barbarous treatment. But Xerxes being informed of his hasty departure, and from thence suspecting his design, sent a party of horse to pursue him; which, having overtaken him, cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do not know whether a more tragical example of re-

venge than that which I have now related, is to be found in history. There is still another action,\* no less cruel nor impious than the former, related of Amestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be burnt alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods, out of compliance with a superstitious custom practised by the Persians.

Masistes being dead,† Xerxes gave the government of Bactriana to his second son Hystaspes, who being by that means obliged to live at a distance from the court, gave his youngest brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of ascending the throne to his disadvantage, after the death of their father, as will be seen in the sequel.

Here ends Herodotus's history, viz. at the battle of Mycale and the siege of the city of Sestos by the Athenians.

## SECT. XII.—THE ATHENIANS REBUILD THE WALLS OF THEIR CITY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE OPPOSITION OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

[A. M. 3526. Ant. J. C. 478.] The war commonly called the war of Media,‡ which had lasted but two years, being terminated in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians, on their return to their own country, sent for their wives and children, whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, and began to think of rebuilding their city, which had been almost destroyed by the Persians, and of surrounding it with strong walls, in order to secure it from future violence. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of this, conceived a jealousy, and began to apprehend, that if Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, should go on to increase her strength by land also, she might take upon her to give laws to Sparta, and to deprive the latter of that authority and pre-eminence, which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest of Greece required, that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnesus, lest, in case of a second irruption, it should serve for a place of arms for the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves in it, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamis was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the real design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was gilded over with the specious pretext of the public good: but, as the latter were able, with the assistance of their allies, to hinder the Athenians by force from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply with their demands, he advised the senate to make use of cunning and dissimulation as well as the Lacedæmonians. The answer therefore they made the envoys was, that they would send an embassy to Sparta, to satisfy the commonwealth with respect to their apprehensions and suspicions. Themistocles caused himself to be nominated one of the ambassadors, and warned the senate not to let his colleagues set out along with him, but to send them one after another, in order to gain time for carrying on the work. The matter was executed pursuant to his advice; and he ac-

\* Herod. l. vii. c. 114.

† Diod. l. xi. p. 53.

‡ Thucyd. l. i. p. 59—62. Diod. l. xi. p. 30, 31. Just. l. ii. c. 15.

cordingly went alone to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days pass without waiting upon the magistrates, or applying to the senate. And, upon their pressing him to do it, and asking him the reason why he deferred it so long, he made answer, that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues, that they might all have their audience of the senate together, and seemed to be very much surprised that they were so long in coming. At length they arrived; but all came singly, and at a good distance of time one from another. During all this interval, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost industry and vigour. The women, children, strangers, and slaves, were all employed in it; nor was it interrupted night or day. The Spartans were not ignorant of the matter, and made great complaints of it to Themistocles, who positively denied the fact, and pressed them to send other deputies to Athens, in order to inform themselves better on the subject, desiring them not to give credit to vague and flying reports, without foundation. At the same time he secretly advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as so many hostages, until he and his colleagues were returned from their embassy, fearing, not without good reason, that they themselves might be served in the same manner at Sparta. At last, when all his colleagues were arrived, he desired an audience, and declared in full senate that it was really true that the Athenians had resolved to fortify their city with strong walls; that the work was almost completed; that they had judged it to be absolutely necessary for their own security, and for the public good of the allies; telling them at the same time, that, after the great experience they had had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well suspect them of being wanting in zeal for the common interest of their country; that as the condition and privileges of all the allies ought to be equal, it was just the Athenians should provide for their own safety by all the methods they judged necessary, as well as the other confederates; that they had thought of this expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city against whosoever should presume to attack it; and that as for the Lacedæmonians, it was not much for their honour that they should desire to establish their power and superiority rather upon the weak and defenceless condition of their allies, than upon their own strength and valour. The Lacedæmonians were extremely displeased with this discourse; but either out of a sense of gratitude and esteem for the Athenians, who had rendered such important services to the country, or out of a conviction of their inability to oppose their enterprise, they dissembled their resentment; and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities.

Themistocles,\* who had always his thoughts fixed upon raising and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the same vigorous application to finish the building and fortifications of the Piræus: for from the time that he had entered into office he had begun that great work. Before his time they had no other port at Athens than that of Phalerus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and consequently not capable of answering the great designs of Themistocles. For this reason he had cast his eye upon the Piræus, which seemed to invite him

\* Thucyd. p. 62, 63. Diod. l. xi. p. 32, 33.



by its advantageous situation, and by the conveniency of its three spacious havens, that were capable of containing above four hundred vessels. This undertaking was prosecuted with so much diligence and vivacity, that the work was considerably advanced in a very little time. Themistocles likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels for the augmentation of their fleet; and in order to engage a great number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour. His design was, as I have already observed, to make the whole force of Athens maritime; in which he followed a very different scheme of politics from what had been pursued by their kings, who, endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from seafaring business and from war, and to make them apply themselves wholly to agriculture and to peaceable employments, published this fable—that Minerva disputing with Neptune to know which of them should be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, she gained her cause by showing her judges the branch of an olive-tree, the happy symbol of peace and plenty, which she had planted: whereas Neptune had made a fiery horse, the symbol of war and confusion, rise out of the earth before them.

**SECT. XIII.—THE BLACK DESIGN OF THEMISTOCLES REJECTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS.—ARISTIDES'S CONDESCENSION TO THE PEOPLE.**

Themistocles, who had conceived in his breast the design of supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands, in order to put it into those of the Athenians, kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And as he was not very nice or scrupulous in the choice of his measures, whatever tended towards the accomplishing of the end he had in view, he looked upon as just and lawful. On a certain day then he declared in a full assembly of the people, that he had planned a very important design, but that he could not communicate it to the people; because, in order to ensure success, it was necessary that it should be carried on with the greatest secrecy: he therefore desired they would appoint a person to whom he might explain himself upon the matter in question. Aristides was unanimously pitched upon by the whole assembly, and they referred themselves entirely to his opinion of the affair; so great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themistocles, therefore, having taken him aside, told him, that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and that by this means Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides hereupon returned to the assembly, and only declared to them that indeed nothing could be more advantageous to the commonwealth than Themistocles's project, but that at the same time nothing could be more unjust. All the people unanimously ordained that Themistocles should entirely desist from his project. We see in this instance that it was not without some foundation that the title of Just was given to Aristides even in his lifetime: a title, says Plutarch, infinitely superior to all those which conquerors pursue with so much ardour, and which in some measure approximates a man to the Divinity.

I know not whether all history can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration than this. It is not a company of philosophers (to whom it costs nothing to establish fine maxims and sublime notions of morality in the schools), who determine on this occasion, that the consideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to what is honest and just. It is an entire people, who are highly interested in the proposal made to them, who are convinced that it is of the greatest importance to the welfare of the state, and who notwithstanding reject it with unanimous consent and without a moment's hesitation, and that for this only reason that it is contrary to justice. How black and perfidious on the other hand was the design which Themistocles proposed, of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, at a time of entire peace, solely to aggrandize the power of the Athenians! Had he a hundred times the merit that is ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to sully all the brilliancy of his glory. For it is the heart, that is to say, integrity and probity, that constitutes true merit.

I am sorry that Plutarch, who generally judges of things with great justness, does not seem, on this occasion, to condemn Themistocles. After having spoken of the works he had constructed in the Piræus, he goes on to the fact in question, of which he says—'Themistocles projected something still greater, for the augmentation of their maritime power.'

The Lacedæmonians having proposed in the council of Amphictyons, that all the cities, which had not taken arms against Xerxes, should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, who was apprehensive that if the Thessalonians, the Argives, and the Thebans, were excluded that council, the Spartans would by that means become masters of the suffrages, and consequently determine all affairs according to their pleasure, made a speech in behalf of the cities whose exclusion was proposed, and brought the deputies that composed that assembly over to his sentiments. He represented to them that the greatest part of the cities that had entered into the confederacy, which were but one-and-thirty in the whole, were very small and inconsiderable; that it would therefore be a very strange, as well as a very dangerous proceeding, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand assembly of the nation, and by that means suffer the august council of the Amphictyons to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the most powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the rest, and would subvert and abolish that equality of power, which was justly regarded as the basis and soul of all republics. Themistocles, by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, drew upon himself the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his professed enemies. He had also incurred the displeasure of the rest of the allies, by the rigorous and rapacious manner in which he had exacted contributions from them.

When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt,\* the people finding themselves in a state of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by every method to get the government into their own hands, and to make the Athenian state an absolute democracy. This design of theirs, though planned with the utmost secrecy, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of Aris-

\* Plut. in Arist. p. 332.

tides, who saw all the consequences with which such an innovation would be attended. But, as he considered on one hand, that the people were entitled to some regard, on account of the valour they had shown in all the battles which had been lately gained; and on the other, that it would be no easy matter to curb and restrain a people who still in a manner had their arms in their hands, and who were grown more insolent than ever from their victories; on these considerations, he thought it proper to observe measures with them, and to find out some medium to satisfy and appease them. He therefore passed a decree, by which it was ordained that the offices of government should be open to all the citizens, and that the Archons, who were the chief magistrates of the commonwealth, and who used to be chosen only out of the richest of its members, (*viz.*) from amongst those only who received at least five hundred medimni of grain as the produce of their lands, should for the future be elected indifferently from the general body of the Athenians without distinction. By thus giving up something to the people, he prevented all dissentions and commotions, which might have proved fatal not only to the Athenian state, but to all Greece.

**SECT. XIV.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS LOSE THE CHIEF COMMAND THROUGH THE PRIDE AND ARROGANCE OF PAUSANIAS.**

[A. M. 3528. Ant. J. C. 476.]—The Grecians,\* encouraged by the happy success which had every where attended their victorious arms, determined to send a fleet to sea, in order to deliver such of their allies as were still under the yoke of the Persians, out of their hands. Pausanias was the commander of the fleet for the Lacedæmonians; and Aristides, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty: then steering towards the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, a great number of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia.

Pausanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, judged it proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he caused a report to be spread among his troops that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night, and were fled; whereas he had set them at liberty himself, and sent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta, and all Greece into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable answer, and to send him very large sums of money also, in order to win over as many of the Grecians as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazus; and in order to enable him to transact the matter with the greater ease and security, he made him governor of all the sea-coasts of Asia Minor.

Pausanias,† who was already dazzled with the prospect of his future greatness, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and be-

\* Thucyd. l. i. p. 63, 84, 86. † Plut. in Arist. p. 332, 333.



haviour. The poor, modest, and frugal way of living at Sparta; the subjection to rigid and austere laws, which neither spared nor respected any man, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as to those of the meanest condition; all this became insupportable to Pausanias. He could not bear the thoughts of going back to Sparta, after having possessed such high commands and employments, to return to a state of equality, that would confound him with the meanest of the citizens; and this was his inducement to enter into a treaty with the barbarians. He entirely laid aside the manners and behaviour of his country; assumed both the dress and haughtiness of the Persians, and imitated them in all their expensive luxury and magnificence. He treated the allies with insufferable rudeness and insolence; never spoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary honours to be paid to him, and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable, and engaging deportment of Aristides and Cimon; an infinite remoteness from all imperious and haughty airs, which tend only to alienate the affections; a gentle, kind, and beneficent disposition, which showed itself in all their actions, and which served to temper the authority of their commands, and to render it both easy and amiable; the justice and humanity, conspicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no person whatsoever, and to do kind offices to all about them; all this hurt Pausanias exceedingly, by the contrast of their opposite characters, and increased the general discontent. At last this dissatisfaction publicly broke out; and all the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Aristides, says Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleness, which he opposed to the arrogance and roughness of Pausanias, and by inspiring Cimon his colleague with the same sentiments, insensibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians without their perceiving it, and at length deprived them of the command; not by open force, or by sending out armies and fleets against them, and still less by making use of any artifice or perfidious practices; but by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable.

It must be confessed at the same time that the Spartan people on this occasion showed a greatness of soul and a spirit of moderation that can never be sufficiently admired. For when they were convinced that their commanders grew haughty and insolent from their too great authority, they willingly renounced the superiority which they had hitherto exercised over the rest of the Grecians, and forbore sending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies, choosing rather, adds the historian, to have their citizens wise, modest, and submissive to the discipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their pre-eminence and superiority over all the other Grecian states.

#### SECT. XV.—PAUSANIAS'S SECRET CONSPIRACY WITH THE PERSIANS.—HIS DEATH.

[A. M. 3529. Ant. J. C. 475.]—Upon the repeated complaints which the Spartan commonwealth received on all hands against Pausanias,\*

\* Thucyd. l. i. p. 86—89. Diod. l. xi. p. 34—56. Cor. Nep. in Pausan.

they recalled him home to give an account of his conduct. But not having sufficient evidence to convict him of having carried on a correspondence with Xerxes, they were obliged to acquit him on his first trial; after which he returned of his own private authority, and without the consent and approbation of the republic, to the city of Byzantium, from whence he continued to carry on his secret practices with Artabazus. But, as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust proceedings whilst he resided there, the Athenians obliged him to leave the place; from whence he retired to Colonæ, a small city of the Troad. There he received an order from the Ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, a public enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the summons and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by dint of money. On his arrival he was committed to prison, and was soon afterwards brought again upon his trial before the judges. The charge brought against him was supported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and serve him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But, as it was the custom for the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan, without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge, they looked upon the evidence against him as insufficient; and the more so, as he was of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office; for Pausanias exercised the function of king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a second time and set at liberty.

Whilst the Ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence against the offender, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, written by Pausanias himself to the king of Persia, which the slave was to have carried and delivered to Artabazus. It must be observed by the way, that this Persian governor and Pausanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers they mutually sent to one another, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovering their correspondence. The Argilian, who saw none of his fellow-servants that had been sent return back again, had some suspicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was intrusted with, in which Artabazus was positively desired to kill him as soon as he had delivered it. This was the letter the slave put into the hands of the Ephori; who still thought even this proof insufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it by the testimony of Pausanias himself. The slave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, as to a secure asylum. Two small closets had been purposely made there, in which the Ephori and some Spartans hid themselves. The instant Pausanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he hasted thither to inquire the reason. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple to save his life. As Pausanias could not deny the fact, he made the best excuse he could; promised the slave a great re-

ward; and obliged him to engage not to mention what had passed between them to any person whatsoever. Pausanias then left him. Pausanias's guilt was now but too evident. The moment he was returned to the city, the Ephori were resolved to seize him. From the aspect of one of those magistrates, and from a signal which he made him, he plainly perceived that some evil design was meditated against him, and therefore he ran with the utmost speed, to the temple of Pallas, called Chaicioecos, near that place, and got into it before the pursuers could overtake him. The entrance was immediately stopped up with great stones; and history informs us, that the criminal's mother was the first who brought one. They also took off the roof of the chapel, and, as the Ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, because this would have been a violation of that sacred asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was starved to death. However, a few minutes before he died, they drew him out of the temple. His corpse was buried not far from that place: but the oracle of Delphi, which they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease the anger of the goddess, who was justly offended on account of the violation of her temple, two statues must be set up there in honour of Pausanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pausanias, whose wild ambition had stifled in him all sentiments of probity, honour, love of his country, zeal for liberty, and of hatred and aversion for the barbarians: sentiments which in some measure, were innate in all the Greeks and particularly in the Lacedæmonians.

#### SECT. XVI.—THEMISTOCLES, BEING PROSECUTED BY THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS, AS AN ACCOMPLICE IN PAUSANIAS'S CONSPIRACY, FLIES FOR SHELTER TO KING ADMETUS.

[A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.]—Themistocles was also implicated in the charge brought against Pausanias.\* He was then in exile. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire of arbitrary power, had made him very odious to his fellow-citizens. He had built, very near his house, a temple dedicated to Diana, under the title of Diana Aristobula, that is to say, the giver of good counsel; as hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counsel to their city and to all Greece; and he also had placed his statue in it, which was standing in Plutarch's time. It appeared, says he, from this statue, that his physiognomy was as heroic as his valour. Finding that men listened with pleasure to all the calumnies which his enemies spread against him, in order to silence them, he was for ever expatiating, in all public assemblies, on the services he had done his country. As they were at last tired with hearing him repeat the same thing so often, 'How!' says he to them, 'are you weary of having good offices frequently done you by the same persons?' He did not consider that putting them so often in mind of his services, was in a manner reproaching them with their having forgotten them, which was not very civil: and he seemed not to know that the surest way to acquire applause is to leave the bestowing of it to others, and to resolve to do such things

\* Thucyd. l. i. p. 89, 90. Plut. in Themist. p. 123, 124. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. viii.



only as are praise-worthy ; and that a frequent mention of one's own virtue and exalted actions, is so far from appeasing envy, that it only inflames it.

Themistocles, after having been banished from Athens,\* by the ostracism, withdrew to Argos. He was there when Pausanias was prosecuted as a traitor who had conspired against his country. He had at first concealed his machinations from Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends ; but as soon as he saw that he was expelled his country, and highly resented that injury, he disclosed his projects to him, and pressed him to join in them. To induce him to comply, he showed him the letters which the king of Persia wrote to him ; and endeavoured to animate him against the Athenians, by painting their injustice and ingratitude in the strongest colours. However, Themistocles rejected with indignation the proposals of Pausanias, and refused peremptorily to take any part in his schemes ; but then he concealed what had passed between them, and did not discover the enterprise he had formed ; whether it was that he imagined Pausanias would renounce it of himself, or was persuaded that it would be discovered some other way ; it not being possible for so dangerous and ill-concerted an enterprise to be successful.

After Pausanias's death, several letters and other things were found among his papers, which excited violent suspicions of Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians sent deputies to Athens to accuse and have sentence of death passed upon him ; and such of the citizens who envied him joined these accusers. Aristides had now a fair opportunity of revenging himself on his rival, for the injurious treatment he had received from him, had his soul been capable of so cruel a satisfaction ; but he refused absolutely to join in so horrid a combination ; being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had before been to regret his successes. Themistocles answered by letters all the calumnies with which he was charged ; and represented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper was such as would not suffer him to be lorded over by others, it was highly improbable that he should have a design to deliver up himself, and all Greece, to enemies and barbarians.

In the mean time the people, wrought upon by his accusers, sent some persons to seize him and bring him home, that he might be tried by the council of Greece. Themistocles, having timely notice of it, went into the island of Corcyra, to whose inhabitants he formerly had done some service : however, not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Epirus ; and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, in despair he adopted a very dangerous plan, which was, to fly to Admetus, king of the Molossians, for refuge. This prince having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and being refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, had retained the deepest resentment on that account, and declared that he would revenge himself should a favourable opportunity ever occur. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy situation of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens was more to be feared than the ancient grudge of that king, was re-

\* Plut. in Themist. p. 112.

solved to run the hazard of it. When he came into the palace of that monarch, upon being informed that he was absent, he addressed himself to the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner in which it was proper for him to make his request. Admetus being returned, Themistocles takes the king's son in his arms, seats himself on his hearth amidst his household gods, and there, telling him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implores his clemency, owns that his life is in his hand, entreats him to forget the past; and represents to him, that no action can be more worthy of a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion in seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had taken refuge in his palace, in the firm persuasion that it would be a sacred and inviolable asylum.

Whilst he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and to send them to him: for which that person was some time after seized and condemned to die. With regard to Themistocles's effects, his friends secured the greatest part of them for him, which they afterwards found an opportunity to remit to him in his retirement; but all that could be discovered, which amounted to a hundred talents,\* was carried to the public treasury. When he entered upon the administration of the republic, he was not worth three talents. I shall leave this illustrious exile for some time in the court of king Admetus, to resume the sequel of this history.

#### SECT. XVII.—ARISTIDES'S DISINTERESTED ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE.—HIS DEATH AND EULOGIUM.

I have before observed,† that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians. Hitherto the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contributed some sums of money towards carrying on the expence of the war against the barbarians; but this assessment had always occasioned great feuds, because it was not made in a just or equal proportion. It was thought proper, under this new government, to lodge in the island of Delos the common treasure of Greece; to enact new regulations with regard to the public moneys; and to lay such a tax as might be regulated according to the revenue of each city and state; in order that the expences being equally borne by the several members who composed the body of the allies, no one might have reason to murmur. The great point was, to find a person capable of discharging faithfully an employment of such delicacy, and attended with such danger and difficulty, the due administration of which so nearly concerned the public welfare. All the allies cast their eyes on Aristides; accordingly they invested him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on each of them, relying entirely on his wisdom and justice.

\* A hundred thousand crowns French, about 22,500*l.* sterling.

† Plut. in Arist. pag. 333, 334. Diød. lib. xi. pag. 36.

They had no cause to repent of their choice. He presided over the treasury with the fidelity and disinterestedness of a man, who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the smallest portion of another's property; with the care and activity of a father of a family, who manages his own estate; and with the caution and integrity of a person, who considers the public moneys as sacred. In fine, he succeeded in what is equally difficult and extraordinary, viz. in acquiring the love of all, in an office in which he that escapes the public odium gains a great point. Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a person charged with an employment of almost the same kind, and the noblest eulogium that can be given of such as administer the public revenues. It is the exact picture of Aristides. He discovered so much probity and wisdom in the exercise of this office, that no man complained; and those times were considered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its highest pitch of virtue and happiness. And, indeed, the tax which he had fixed, in the whole, at four hundred and sixty talents,\* was raised by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents; not that the expences of the war were increased, but because the treasure was employed to very useless purposes, in manual distributions to the Athenians, in solemnizing of games and festivals, in building of temples and public edifices; not to mention, that the hands of those who superintended the treasury were not always so clean and uncorrupt as those of Aristides. This wise and equitable conduct secured him to the latest posterity, the glorious surname of **THE JUST**.

Nevertheless, Plutarch relates an action of Aristides, which shows that the Greeks (and the same may be said of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of justice. They confined the exercise of it to the interior, as it were, of civil society; and acknowledged that individuals were bound to observe strictly its several maxims in their intercourse with each other: but with regard to their country, to the republic (their great idol, to which they referred every thing), they thought in a quite different manner, and imagined themselves obliged to sacrifice to it, through principle, not only their lives and possessions, but even their religion and the most sacred engagements, in contempt of the most solemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what I am now going to relate.

After the assessment of the contributions, of which I have just spoken,† Aristides having settled the several articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to observe them punctually, and he himself swore in the name of the Athenians; and when denouncing the curses which always accompanied the oaths, he threw into the sea, pursuant to the usual custom, large bars of red-hot iron. But the ill state of the Athenian affairs forcing them afterwards to infringe some of those articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he entreated them to transfer those curses on him, and exonerate themselves thereby of the punishment due to such as had forsworn themselves, and who had been reduced to it by the unhappy situation of their affairs. Theophrastus tells us, that in general (these words are borrowed from Plutarch) Aristides, who, in all matters relating to himself or the public, prided himself upon displaying

\* The talent is worth a thousand French crowns; or about 225l. sterling.

† Plut. in Arist. pag. 333, 334.



the most impartial and rigorous justice, used to act, during his administration, in several instances, according to the exigency of affairs and the welfare of his country might require ; it being his opinion, that a government, in order to support itself, is, on some occasions, obliged to have recourse to injustice, of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in opposition to the articles of the treaty, the common treasures of Greece which were deposited in Delos: the Samians having opened the debate ; when it was Aristides's turn to speak, he said, that the removal of the treasure was an unjust action, but useful, and made this opinion take place. This incident shows, with how great obscurity and error the pretended wisdom of the heathens was overspread.

It was scarce possible to have a greater contempt for riches than Aristides had. Themistocles, who was not pleased with the encomiums bestowed on other men, hearing Aristides applauded for the noble disinterestedness with which he managed the public treasures, did but laugh at it: and said, that the praises bestowed upon him for it, showed that he possessed no greater merit than that of a strong box, which faithfully preserves all the moneys that are shut up in it, without retaining any. This low sneer was by way of revenge for a stroke of raillery that had stung him to the quick. Themistocles one day saying, that, in his opinion, the greatest qualification a general could possess, was to be able to foresee the designs of an enemy: 'This qualification,' replied Aristides, 'is necessary ; but there is another no less noble and worthy of a general, that is, to have clean hands, and a soul superior to venality and views of interest.' Aristides might very justly answer Themistocles in this manner, since he was really very poor, though he had possessed the highest employments in the state. He seemed to have an innate love for poverty ; and so far from being ashamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the trophies and victories he had won. History gives us a shining instance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Aristides, and the most wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuser, laying very little stress on the cause itself, reproached him especially with permitting Aristides, and his wife and children, to live in poverty, at a time when he himself rolled in riches. Callias, perceiving that these reproaches made a strong impression on the judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether he had not often pressed him to accept of large sums of money, and whether he had not obstinately refused to accept of his offer, giving for answer, that he had more reason to boast of his poverty than Callias of his riches: that many persons were to be found who made a good use of their wealth, but that there were few who bore their poverty with magnanimity and even with joy ; and that none had cause to blush at their condition, but such as had reduced themselves to it by their idleness, their intemperance, their profusion, or dissolute conduct. Aristides declared that his kinsman had told nothing but the truth ;\* and added, that a man whose frame of mind is such, as to sup-

\* Plut. in compar. Arist. et Caton. p. 355.

press every wish for superfluities, and who confines the wants of life within the narrowest limits ; besides its freeing him from a thousand importunate cares, and leaving him so much master of his time, as to devote it entirely to the public ; it approximates him, in some measure, to the Deity, who is wholly void of cares or wants. There was no man in the assembly, but, at his leaving it, would have chosen to be Aristides, though so poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.

Plutarch gives us, in a few words, Plato's glorious testimony to Aristides's virtue, for which he looks upon him as infinitely superior to all the illustrious men who were his contemporaries. Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, (says he,) filled indeed their city with splendid edifices with porticos, statues, rich ornaments, and other vain superfluities of that kind ; but Aristides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue : now, to raise a city to true happiness, it must be made virtuous, not rich.

Plutarch takes notice of another circumstance in Aristides's life which, though of the simplest kind, reflects the greatest honour on him, and may serve as an excellent lesson. It is in that beautiful treatise,\* in which he enquires, whether it is proper for old men to concern themselves with affairs of government ; and where he points out admirably well, the various services they may do the state, even in an advanced age. We are not to fancy, says he, that in order to render services to one's fellow-citizens, it is necessary to make great exertions, to harangue the people, to preside in the government, or to head armies : an old man, whose mind is informed with wisdom, may, without going from his house, exercise a kind of magistracy in it, which though secret and obscure, is not therefore the less important ; and that is, in training up youth by good counsel, teaching them the various springs of policy, and the path they ought to pursue in the management of public affairs. Aristides, adds Plutarch, was not always in office, but was always of service to his country. His house was a public school of virtue, wisdom, and politics. It was open to all young Athenians who were lovers of virtue, and these used to consult him as an oracle. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity ; and endeavoured, above all things, to animate their courage, and inspire them with confidence. It is observed particularly that Cimon, afterwards so famous, was obliged to him for this important service.

Plutarch divided the life of statesmen into three ages.† In the first he would have them learn the principles of government ; in the second, reduce them to practice ; and in the third, instruct others.

History does not mention the exact time when, nor place where Aristides died :‡ but then it pays a glorious testimony to his memory, when it assures us, that this great man, who had possessed the highest employments in the republic, and had the absolute disposal of its treasures, died poor, and did not leave money enough to defray the expences of his fu-

\* Pag. 795, 797.

† He applies on this occasion the custom used in Rome, where the Vestals spent the first ten years in learning their office, and this was a kind of noviciate ; the next ten years they employed in the exercise of their functions ; and the last ten in instructing the young novices in them.

‡ Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 334, 335.

neral ; so that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and Lysimachus his son was subsisted at the expence of the Prytaneum ; which also gave the daughter of the latter, after his death, the pension with which those were honoured who had been victorious at the Olympic games. Plutarch relates, on this occasion, the liberality of the Athenians in favour of the posterity of Aristogiton their deliverer, who had fallen to decay ; and he adds, that even in his time (almost six hundred years after) the same goodness and liberality still subsisted. It is glorious for a city, to have preserved for so many centuries its generosity and gratitude ; and a strong motive to animate individuals, who were assured that their children would enjoy the rewards which death might prevent themselves from receiving. It was delightful to see the remote posterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their ancestors but the glory of their actions, maintained for so many ages at the expence of the public, in consideration of the services which their families had rendered the state. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their ancestors with much greater splendor, than a multitude of citizens, whose fathers had been anxious only to leave them great estates, which generally do not long survive those who raised them, and often leave to their posterity nothing but the odious remembrance of the injustice and oppression by which they were acquired.

The greatest honour which the ancients have done to Aristides, is the having bestowed on him the glorious title of *THE JUST*. He gained it, not by one particular occurrence of his life, but by the whole tenor of his conduct and actions. Plutarch makes a reflection on this occasion, which, being very remarkable, I think it incumbent on me not to omit.

Among the several virtues of Aristides, says this judicious author,\* that for which he was most renowned was his justice ; because this virtue is of most general use ; its benefits extend to a greater number of persons ; and it is the foundation, and in a manner the soul, of every public office and employment. Hence it was that Aristides, though in low circumstances, and of mean extraction, merited the title of *JUST* ; a title, says Plutarch, truly royal, or rather truly divine ; but one of which princes are seldom ambitious, because they are ignorant of its beauty and excellency. They choose rather to be called the takers of cities,† the thunderbolts of war, victors and conquerors, and sometimes even eagles and lions ; preferring the vain honour of pompous titles, which convey no other idea than violence and slaughter, to the solid glory of those expressive of goodness and virtue. They do not know, continues Plutarch, that of the three chief attributes of the Deity, of whom kings boast themselves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and justice ; that of these three attributes, the first of which excites our admiration and desire, the second fills us with dread and terror, and the third inspires us with love and respect ; this last is the only one truly and personally communicated to man, and the only one that can conduct him to the other two ; it being impossible for man to become truly immortal and powerful, but by being just.

\* Plut. in vit. Arist. pag. 321, 322. † Poliorcetes, Ceraunus, Nicator.



[A. M. 3532. A. Rom. 302.] Before I resume the sequel of this history, it may not be improper to observe, that it was about this period that the fame of the Greeks, who were still more renowned for the wisdom of their polity than the glory of their victories, induced the Romans to have recourse to their lights and knowledge. Rome, formed under kings, was in want of such laws as were necessary for the good government of a commonwealth. For this purpose the Romans sent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, and particularly those of Athens, which were still better adapted to the popular government that had been established after the expulsion of the kings. On this model, the ten magistrates called 'Decemviri,' who were invested with absolute authority, digested the laws of the Twelve Tables, which are the basis of the Roman law.

SECT. XVIII.—DEATH OF XERXES, WHO IS KILLED BY ARTABANUS.—HIS CHARACTER.

[A. M. 5531. Ant. J. C. 473.] The ill success of Xerxes in his expedition against the Greeks,\* and which continued afterwards, at length discouraged him. Renouncing all thoughts of war and conquest, he abandoned himself entirely to luxury and ease, and was studious of nothing but his pleasures. Artabanus,† a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that this dissolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his subjects. He therefore imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to conspire against his sovereign; and he carried his ambitious views so far as to flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding him in the throne.‡ It is very likely, that he was excited to the commission of this crime from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldest son, but for what cause history is silent. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt but that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haste to obey it: however, he was mistaken, for the king complained of his disobedience, which made Artabanus dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to prevent him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and high-chamberlain, to engage in his conspiracy; and by his means entered the chamber where the king lay, and murdered him in his sleep. He then went immediately to Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes. He informed him of the murder, charging Darius his eldest brother with it; as if impatience to ascend the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He added, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to keep upon his guard. These words having made the impression on Artaxerxes, who was still a youth, which Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes, Xerxes's second son, was next heir to the crown after Darius; but as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governor,

\* Ctes. c. ii. Diod. lib. xi. p. 52. Justin. lib. iii. cap. 1.

† This was not Artabanus the uncle of Xerxes.

‡ Arist. Polit.

lib. v. cap. 10. pag. 404.

Artabanus seated Artaxerxes on the throne, with the design of suffering him to enjoy it no longer than till he had formed a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His great authority had gained him a multitude of dependants; besides this, he had seven sons, who were tall, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But whilst he was attempting to complete his design, Artaxerxes being informed of this plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his treason in execution. His death established this prince in the possession of the kingdom.

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would be needless for me to anticipate the reader, with respect to the judgment he ought to form of him. We see him surrounded with whatever is greatest and most brilliant in the opinion of mankind; the most extensive empire at that time in the world; immense treasures, and forces both by land and sea, whose number appears incredible. All these things, however, are round him, not in him, and add no lustre to his natural qualities: but, by a blindness too common to princes and great men, born in the midst of abundance, heir to boundless power, and a lustre that had cost him nothing, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit from the exterior of his exalted station and rank. He disregards the wise counsels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who alone had courage enough to speak truth to him; and he abandons himself to courtiers, the adorers of his fortune, whose whole study it was to soothe his passions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate, the success of his enterprises, by the extent of his power. The slavish submission of so many nations no longer soothes his ambition; and, disgusted with too easy an obedience, he takes pleasure in exercising his power over the elements, in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chastising the sea for having broken down his bridge, and in foolishly attempting to shackle the waves, by throwing fetters into them. Puffed up with a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as the arbiter of nature: he imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to wait his arrival; and fondly and presumptuously relies on the millions of men and ships which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamis, he beholds the sad ruins, the shameful remains, of his numberless troops scattered over all Greece; he then is sensible of the wide difference between an army and a crowd of men. In a word, to form a right judgment of Xerxes, we need but contrast him with a plain citizen of Athens, a Miltiades, Themistocles, or Aristides. In the latter we find all the good sense, prudence, ability in war, valour, and greatness of soul; in the former we see nothing but vanity, pride, obstinacy; the meanest and most grovelling sentiments, and sometimes the most horrid barbarity.





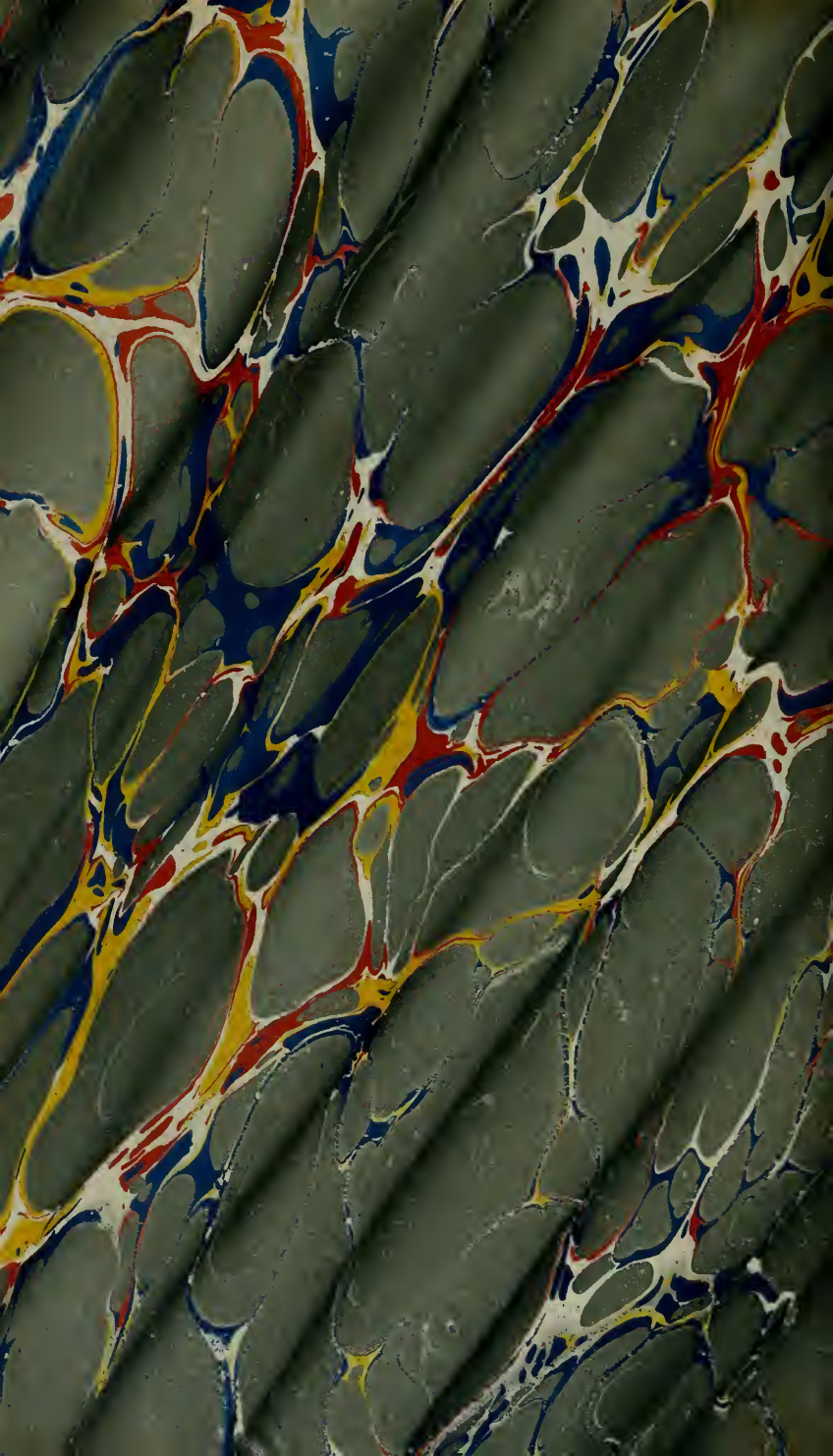












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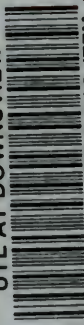
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